FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

Subscribers: Please see important notice inside.

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-95-002
Wednesday
4 January 1995

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

NOTICE

Effective 3 January 1995, FBIS will no longer publish the Central Eurasia FBIS Report (FBIS-USR). Material currently appearing in this report will be published in the Central Eurasia Daily Report (FBIS-SOV).

U.S. GOVERNMENT SUBSCRIBERS currently receiving the Central Eurasia FBIS Report will be sent the Central Eurasia Daily Report. U.S. Government customers, including Department of Defense personnel, who do NOT wish to receive the Central Eurasia Daily Report or wish to adjust the number of reports they receive should notify FBIS by fax at (703) 733-6042 or by phone at (202) 338-6735.

NONGOVERNMENT SUBSCRIBERS will be notified by mail in the coming weeks by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS) regarding pricing and ordering information for the Central Eurasia Daily Report. For immediate details call NTIS at (703) 487-4630.

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-95-002 *4 January 1995*

CONTENTS

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Industrialists' Groups Urge Reintegration *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 30 Dec]* 1
Parliamentary Assembly Panel Eyes Media, Cultural Issues *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 30 Dec]* 2

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Differences With NATO on CFE Flank Restrictions Aired *[IZVESTIYA 31 Dec]* 3
Further Speculation on U.S. Acquisition of S-300 SAM System *[TRUD 29 Dec]* 3
Border Guard Troops Commander Interviewed *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 30 Dec]* 4
Moscow Reasserting Traditional Europe Role *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Jan]* 6
Delay in Japanese Debt Repayment Blamed on Chechen Events *[IZVESTIYA 31 Dec]* 8
Tajik National Currency Imminent; Viability Questioned *[IZVESTIYA 30 Dec]* 8
Exports of Dual-Use Chemicals To Be Monitored *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Jan]* 9

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

Russians Bomb Town, Destroy Hospital *[Moscow Radio]* 10
Groznyy Clashes Kill Many Russians *[Moscow TV]* 10
Duma Deputies Send Letter to Chernomyrdin *[Russian TV]* 10
Denounce Government 'Lies' on Chechnya *[Russian TV]* 10
Forward Letters of 'Concern' to Yeltsin *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Dudayev Supporters Seen To Violate Constitution *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Government on Chechen Plans To 'Divide' Region *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Gonchar: Combat Operations Must be Stopped *[INTERFAX]* 12
LDP Rules Out Talks With Chechens *[INTERFAX]* 12
Fedorov Reaffirms Support for Chechnya Policy *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 30 Dec]* 12
Yushenkov Urges End to Military Action *[Moscow TV]* 13
Kostikov Calls Chechnya Situation 'Tragedy' *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
Soldiers' Mothers Rally for End to Conflict *[Russian TV]* 14
Chechen Representative Notes Groznyy Losses *[Moscow TV]* 14
Gaydar on Yeltsin's 'Power' To Stop Crisis *[Moscow Radio]* 14
Yeltsin Issues Edict on Chechnya Rights *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Jan]* 15
Yabloko Leader Calls on Yeltsin To Resign *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
Communist, Others Give New Year's Interviews *[PRAVDA 31 Dec]* 16
Groups Collects Signatures for Early Elections *[INTERFAX]* 17
RZM Looks To Link With State Governments *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Jan]* 17
Newspaper Chief Defends 'State' Media *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Jan]* 17
Family of Slain Journalist Receives Condolences *[ITAR-TASS]* 18
FCS Order Halts Release of Magazine *[MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 4 Jan]* 18

Military Issues

Samara Plant Tests New Space Rocket Engine *[Russian TV]* 18

Federal Assembly

Gaydar: 'Serious Military Catastrophe' in Chechnya *[Moscow TV]* 19
Federation Council Approves Laws, Rejects Others *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 30 Dec]* 19

Regional Affairs

ITAR-TASS Carries Round-Up of Chechen Developments 19
Chechen Security Chief Abandons Dudayev *[ITAR-TASS]* 20
Smirnyagin Assesses Chechnya Situation *[INTERFAX]* 20
Attempts Made To Restore Chechnya Power Sector *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 30 Dec]* 20
State of Emergency in N. Ossetia Extended Until 2 Feb *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
North Ossetian President Urges Peace in Caucasus *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
Dudayev Cited on Russian Losses *[Moscow Radio]* 21
Yeltsin Aide: Chechen Political Settlement Being Drafted *[Moscow Radio]* 21
Chechen Spokesman Warns of Growing Anti-Russian Feelings *[Radio Rossii]* 21
Head of Duma Security Committee Fears Escalating Separatism *[INTERFAX]* 21
Duma Representative Rejects Official Line on Chechnya *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 31 Dec]* 22
Kovalev: Duma To Increase Activity To Stop Chechen War *[ITAR-TASS]* 22
Additional Forces Sent To Shore Up Southern Borders *[INTERFAX]* 22
Report Says 'Hundreds' of Russians Dying in Groznyy *[Moscow TV]* 22
Ingush Vice President Says Chechen Bombing Continues *[Moscow Radio]* 23
Presidential Supervision Commission Begins Work *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
Warplanes, Combat Helicopters Mount Strikes in Groznyy *[Moscow Radio]* 23
Government Troops Extending Control *[Radio Rossii]* 23
Russian Forces Control Parts of Groznyy *[Moscow TV]* 24
Yegorov Says Russian Troops Should Take Groznyy 5 Jan *[ITAR-TASS]* 24
Russia Airlifting Well-Trained Reinforcements To Chechnya *[ITAR-TASS]* 24
Migration Service Official Comments on Chechnya Refugees *[ITAR-TASS]* 24

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Kuchma on Russian Relations, NATO, Economy *[Munich FOCUS 2 Jan]* 25
KUN Group Gives 'Moral' Support in Chechnya *[UNIAN]* 26

National Affairs

Kuchma Adviser Views Draft Power Bill *[KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI 27 Dec]* 26
Centrist Cherep Seen as Rival to Deputy Speaker *[INTELNEWS]* 28
Kuchma Issues Privatization Edict *[UNIAN]* 28
Economy Minister Views Situation, Reform *[URYADOVVY KURYER 15 Dec]* 29
Crimean Speaker Discusses 1994 *[KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI 29 Dec]* 31
Crimea Reduces 'Critical' Energy Supply Level *[GOLOS KRYMA 16 Dec]* 32
Crimean Urges Economic Integration With Russia *[UNIAR]* 33
Chechen War Seen To Impact Crimea *[NARODNA HAZETA Dec]* 33
Ministers Approve Nuclear Power Facility *[UNIAR]* 33

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

President on Economic Relations With Russia *[Minsk Radio]* 34
Correction to Lukashenka Addresses Nation *[Minsk Radio]* 34

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Indian Delegation Visits Semipalatinsk Nuclear Reactor *[Almaty TV]* 42
Nazarbayev, Officials Discuss Economic Issues *[ITAR-TASS]* 42
Nazarbayev Urges 'Vigorous' Integration Push *[IZVESTIYA 30 Dec]* 42
Miners Fined for 1994 Strike *[Almaty Radio]* 43

Tajikistan

Dushanbe Urges CIS To Reinforce Afghanistan Border *[ITAR-TASS]* 43
Foreign Ministry Protests Opposition Bases in Afghanistan *[INTERFAX]* 44
Update Notes Nine Russian Borderguards Killed *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
Local Authorities Urged To Observe Election Law *[Dushanbe Radio]* 44
New Party of National Unity Joins Election Race *[ITAR-TASS]* 44

Turkmenistan

Government Hopes Kiev Will Repay Debts *[INTERFAX]* 45
Details of 1995 Budget Approved by People's Council *[TURKMEN PRESS 28 Dec]* 45

Uzbekistan

World Bank Official Expresses Satisfaction With Reforms
[BIZNES VESTNIK VOSTOKA 30 Dec] 46
Central Election Commission Summarizes Election Results *[Tashkent Radio]* 46
Issue of New Passports Begins *[Tashkent Radio]* 47

CAUCASUS

Armenia

No Official Explanation for Halting Radio Liberty Relays *[SNARK]* 48
Joint Armenian-Russian Command Post for 1995 *[Yerevan Radio]* 48
President's 28 Dec Speech on ARF, Part I *[Yerevan Radio]* 48

Azerbaijan

Democratic Congress Issues Statement on Chechnya *[TURAN]* 50
Infiltrators Crossing to Chechnya Denied *[TURAN]* 50
Official Deplores Armenian Occupation of Shusha, Lachin *[TURAN]* 50
Defense Begins Presentation in Ganja Trial *[TURAN]* 51
U.S. State Department Expresses Concern *[TURAN]* 51
Azerbaijani Opposition Figures Criticize Aliyev *[Ankara TURKISH DAILY NEWS 30 Dec]* 51

Georgia

Premier Says EU Failing to Fully Implement Trade Agreement *[IBERIA]* 52
Swiss Official Visits, Discusses Political Situation *[Tbilisi Radio]* 52
Shevardnadze Proposes Joint Border Controls With Russia *[SAKINFORM]* 52
Headquarters Set Up To Monitor Chechnya Border *[IBERIA]* 52
Chechen Refugees Arrive; Shevardnadze Orders Assistance *[IBERIA]* 53
Nadareishvili on Rival Abkhaz Parliament *[Tbilisi Radio]* 53

BALTIC STATES

Latvia

Protest Filed With Russia Over Remaining Military Families *[BNS]* 54
Presidential Adviser on 'Absurd' Russian Defense Setup *[Riga Radio]* 54

Lithuania

Border Talks With Belarus Open *[BNS]* 54
Border Agreement Initialled *[Vilnius Radio]* 54
Russia Reportedly Not Informed About Military Transit Rules *[Vilnius Radio]* 54
Seized Uranium Analyzed, High Radiation Levels Denied *[BNS]* 55

Industrialists' Groups Urge Reintegration

MM0301122295 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 30 Dec 94 p 5

[Appeal to the heads of state, parliaments, and governments of Belorussia (Belarus), Russia, and Ukraine, signed by M.F. Lavrinovich, president of the Belorussian (Belarusian) Scientific and Industrial Association; A.I. Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs; and V.I. Yevtukhov, president of the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs; date not given: "One More Step Toward Unity. We Live and Work in the CIS. Our Market Is Here Above All"—first paragraph is RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA has already reported on the "council" of industrialists and entrepreneurs of Belorussia [Belarus], Russia, and Ukraine that was held in Minsk. Today we publish an appeal from the participants in the meeting to the heads of those three states and their parliaments and governments.

The Minsk meeting of industrialists and entrepreneurs of Belorussia, Russia, and Ukraine coincides with the third anniversary of market reforms in the new independent states.

The main point on which our positions are united is that there is no reasonable alternative to advancing toward a market economy. However, the state of national economic systems is in deep crisis, far from the stage of stabilization. The inertia of decline has not been overcome. In the past three years the national income produced has fallen by 40 percent in Belorussia, 43 percent in Russia, and 46 percent in Ukraine. Industrial output and the volume of capital investments have fallen by an average of one-fourth in the current year. Entire sectors and unique production facilities are on the brink of total collapse. The flywheel of "deindustrialization" is indiscriminately crushing both defense and civilian enterprises. At the moment there is every indication that instead of structural reorganization we have ended up with systematic destruction.

Attempts by governments to curb inflation, restrain price increases, and cut national budget deficits unfortunately are not achieving the goals set. It is quite obvious that in the coming year latent unemployment will develop into the mass, open form. The criminalization of life is spreading without restraint, and it is becoming increasingly dangerous to engage in entrepreneurialism.

One of the main reasons for the prolonged roaming in the labyrinth of economic disorder is the policy of virtual isolationism and the attempts by our countries to escape from the crisis on their own. The still ineffective mechanisms of the CIS only highlight more clearly the gulfs that have opened up in our system of interstate cooperation. It is not permissible to go on ignoring historical facts, which show that in the worst times we were stronger because we were together.

Today, while there is still some chance of emerging from the impasse, the industrialists and entrepreneurs of Belorussia, Russia, and Ukraine are profoundly convinced of the need for true economic reintegration. The time has come resolutely to accelerate the rapprochement of our economies. Expressing the interests of the leaders of enterprises and organizations under all forms of ownership, we call initially for renewed forms of economic union. Surely everyone should have realized by now that the majority of our goods are not competitive in the West, and no one wants them. Our main market is in the countries of the former USSR, but we are rapidly losing it. The breakthrough will come if the inconsistent actions and amorphous mechanisms in the structures of the CIS are replaced by really functional and well-adjusted components of interstate relations and economic links at the level of economic structures.

The participants in the Minsk meeting, appealing to the republics' heads of state and government and parliaments, propose that the following be considered priority tasks:

—Based on the principles of the Treaty on the Economic Union of the CIS, resolutely to accelerate the deepening of Belorussian-Russian-Ukrainian cooperation. Industrialists and entrepreneurs state with conviction: True economic reintegration is necessary! Its nucleus should be a real unification of our republics' national economic complexes in an economic union. From the very first steps of rapprochement, we appeal to Kazakhstan to support this cooperation with its own mighty potential and recent traditions, on the basis of mutual benefit. The component parts of this cooperation should be the introduction of a guaranteed regime of free trade in articles and materials for industrial production use, the creation of an interconnected and carefully coordinated customs area, and the lifting of duties, taxes, and dues on the movement across state borders of goods delivered on a coproduction basis;

—We propose that the question of coordinated approaches and practical measures to overcome the payments crisis on the basis of appropriate prices in our republics, including prices of energy sources, be submitted for discussion by the presidents and heads of government of Belorussia, Russia, and Ukraine. The tangled net of debts is freezing the reciprocal flow of commodities and undermining partners' confidence in one another. We believe that the priorities should be: questions of converting mutual debt obligations between enterprises into shares, and other forms of extinguishing debts; the wide use of a financial and commodity clearing system; the adoption of measures to ensure the convertibility of the Russian and Belorussian ruble and the Ukrainian karbovanets; and the transition to an effective payments union on an agreed basis;

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

—We call for the conclusion of a trilateral agreement on the development of joint production, scientific-technical, investment, and commercial activity. A trilateral group of experts should be formed to formulate a coordinated legal basis for the creation of financial and industrial groups, holding companies, and other economic structures, with the participation of enterprises under all forms of ownership, as well as freedom of movement of manpower and social and labor guarantees for citizens of Belorussia, Russia, and Ukraine.

The national unions of industrialists and entrepreneurs intend to step up the coordination of their actions within the International Congress (ICIE) [International Congress of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs] and to influence more strongly the harmonization of the concepts and practice of economic reforms in their states.

We must make every effort to hold the situation back from disintegration processes and the destructive slide toward chaos, anarchy, and social degradation.

Through the acceleration of reintegration—toward stabilization and progress!

On the instructions of the participants in the meeting:

[Signed] M.F. Lavrinovich

President of the Belorussian Scientific and Industrial Association;

A.I. Volskiy

President of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs;

V.I. Yevtukhov

President of the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs.

Parliamentary Assembly Panel Eyes Media, Cultural Issues

MM0201160595 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 30 Dec 94 p 2

[Unattributed report under "From the Headquarters of the Interparliamentary Association" rubric: "Any Distances Are Reduced When Freedom of Speech Is Triumphant"—from issue no. 4 of the "RT-Sodruzhestvo" section published jointly by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and the Interparliamentary Assembly of the CIS]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Concept of the Main Principles of Cooperation Among CIS States in the Sphere of Mass Information should promote the creation of a single information area and the convergence of the Commonwealth countries' interests. It has been produced jointly by the Interparliamentary Association [IA] standing commission on questions of culture, science, education, and information and the humanitarian cooperation commission of the General Confederation of Trade Unions. The proposed document is intended to get rid of substantive legal gaps in the field of journalism in the republics of the near abroad, as in only five of them have laws on the press and other news media been adopted at the present time.

On the eve of the new year this commission worked altogether very fruitfully In particular, a whole package of topical questions was discussed. Under discussion were the basic principles of cooperation in the sphere of science and scientific and technical progress; membership of the Convention "On Protecting the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage"; the IA's participation in organizing an international ballet competition and an inspection of the CIS states' choreographic schools, and an international festival "Musical Spring-95." The commission also adopted decrees on celebrating the 150th anniversary of the Kazakh poet and teacher, the philosopher Abay Kunanbayev, and the Sergey Yesenin centenary.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Differences With NATO on CFE Flank Restrictions Aired

MM0301203995 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by Boris Vinogradov: "Russia Wants To 'Outflank' CFE Treaty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia has threatened to unilaterally revise the CFE Treaty if the West does not meet it halfway as regards the limits on "flank restrictions." The NATO countries have stated through the U.S. State Department that the text of the treaty is final and any attempt to revise it will be seen as a deviation from international commitments.

The fate of the treaty, which was signed in Paris in November 1990, has been complex. It was a compromise between two military blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The idea of "reasonable sufficiency" was popular among diplomats. At the time nobody could imagine that one of the blocs would soon cease to exist, and that the Soviet Union would collapse into 15 sovereign states. The Chechnya war—on one of Europe's flanks—was the stuff of fantasy.

The stringency of the flank restrictions was first felt by Russia and Ukraine. A year ago they appealed to NATO for the restrictions to be revised upward. The joint consultation group which met in Vienna was unable to resolve this issue.

"The essence of the issue," Mikhail Shelepin, chief of the Russian Foreign Ministry Disarmament Department's Conventional Arms Desk, explained in an interview with IZVESTIYA, "is that under the CFE Treaty Russia should have 6,400 tanks, 3,450 combat aircraft, 6,415 artillery pieces, 11,480 armored personnel carriers and infantry fighting vehicles, and 890 attack helicopters in the European sector by November of next year. While agreeing to leave these figures unchanged, Moscow is merely insisting that it be allowed to strengthen its southern flank."

Given its instability and also the fact that a considerable proportion of the troops from Germany and the Baltic have been withdrawn to this region, the Russian delegation in Vienna is proposing that the limit for tanks, artillery, and, particularly, for armored fighting vehicles there be increased. Compared with other [military] districts Russia will be forced to maintain a stronger grouping in the North Caucasus.

But such arguments do not meet with understanding in NATO. It claims that the bloc's expansion through the addition of the East European countries is also no grounds for altering the quotas established four years ago for both the southern and northern flanks.

There is still some time until November 1995. Experts believe that they can find common ground with their NATO disarmament partners. Russia's claims are also supported by Ukraine, which plans to have 700 tanks in the Odessa Military District rather than 300. Belorussia [Belarus], which does not want to destroy the tanks on its territory, has also announced its intention to alter its commitments under the CFE Treaty.

Further Speculation on U.S. Acquisition of S-300 SAM System

MM0301160395 Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Dec 94 p 4

[Report by Vissarion Sisnev: "Congratulations on Your Acquisition, Pentagon! Who Delivered the Air Defense System from the CIS to the United States, and Why"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Washington—Most likely this was not an accidental but a planned "leak" of information which the military authorities classified as "secret." Otherwise it is not clear how certain journalists learned of the flight of a Soviet-built An-124 transport plane to Huntsville International Airport in Alabama. It landed Monday 19 December, and by 22 December the newspapers were already publishing the first reports about the secret flight. The impression was given that it was only under pressure from journalists that the Pentagon decided to lift the veil of secrecy a little and reveal one or two details of this matter.

Let me say straightaway why the suspicion arises that the reports on the An-124 were instigated—whether by agreement with the military or engineered by them is not important. The news that an air defense system which Russia exhibited at international arms fairs and which it intended to sell to a number of countries finds itself in the hands of U.S. military specialists at once puts these deals in doubt. In a commentary the AP agency, referring to an expert in these problems, says directly that the acquisition of the S-300 system, which is similar to the U.S. Patriot air-to-surface [as published] system, will make it more difficult for Moscow to sell it abroad, and will inflict on Moscow losses running to billions of dollars.

But this is not the sole import of the system's acquisition by the Americans. For example, prior to 1989 the United States secretly obtained Soviet types of weapons through the brothers of the Romanian dictator Ceaucescu, who occupied important posts. A variety of Soviet army and air force equipment was purchased from socialist Poland. Czechoslovakia and the GDR made their "contribution" in the form of the latest tanks. The press here openly acknowledged that such contraband operations helped U.S. designers to perfect such technical innovations as, for example, the F-117A "stealth" aircraft, which cannot be detected by radar.

Where the latest gift to the Pentagon was flown in from is not yet known. As for the story that it was dispatched from the air force base at Machulishchi near Minsk, the Defense Department's duty officers refuse to make any comment whatever about Moscow's accusations against

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Belorussia [Belarus], and other Pentagon officials are on their Christmas vacations—at least this is the explanation given. But it has been fairly reliably established that, first, this is not the first delivery involving S-300's: The arsenal in Huntsville for which it was intended has already received something similar. Second, everything that has been delivered, including the flatbed carrier with its computers, radar, and missiles, will be utilized to improve U.S. missile systems of the same type—Raytheon's Patriot and Lockheed's THAAD.

It is also known that the middleman between the intelligence services and the salesmen in the CIS in the case in question was the Washington-based firm BDM International, which will receive 10 percent of the $50 million paid. There are a large number of such organizations, which compete for orders for private arms deals, in the United States, but people in the know claim that BDM International has an undoubted advantage over the others: It is headed by Frank Carlucci, a former defense secretary, who knows all the ins and outs of the Pentagon, and even of its environs. True, he himself is currently recovering from a heart operation somewhere in the Caribbean, but this is not important: The current flight of the An-124 is the culminating phase of a long-standing and, as they say, indefinite contract with military intelligence.

In conclusion, let me quote the remarks of a certain gentleman whom, citing him, THE WASHINGTON POST calls "a former official who now specializes in purchasing Russian military secrets for the U.S. special services." This is what he says: "Yes, we steal from these countries, take their national assets and pass them on to our intelligence community. Those who sell them to us in Russia can be considered traitors to their country. All the arms dealers know perfectly well where they are sent." It is hard not to agree with this, but there is a gnawing worm of doubt: Somehow the An-124 flew in very "opportunely," and commentators are somewhat laboring their emphasis on Moscow's "generals' mafia." Coincidences, or was the whole scheme hatched in order to pour oil on the flame of passions licking around Russia's military-industrial complex?

Border Guard Troops Commander Interviewed

MM0301180595 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Dec 94 pp 1, 2

[Interview for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI with Border Guard Troops Commander in Chief Andrey Nikolayev by Sergey Ovsiyenko; place and date not given: "Andrey Nikolayev: Chief Border Guard or Politician?"; passages in boldface as published—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] One year ago, by presidential edict, the Federal Border Guard Service of Russia was created. The way toward an autonomous power structure was paved by Colonel General Andrey Nikolayev, formerly first deputy chief of the Russian Army General Staff and, later, Russia's deputy security minister.

Border Guard Troops Commander in Chief Nikolayev succeeded in defending its autonomy not only from his native Ministry of Security, but also from the Ministry of Defense, whose leadership was until recently seeking to subordinate the border guard troops to itself. What is more, over 2,000 Army and Navy officers have switched over to service in the border guard troops, and border guard troop units have been set up on the basis of a number of disbanded Ministry of Defense units....

[Ovsiyenko] Andrey Ivanovich, it is said that you are a more frequent guest in CIS countries than other top officials of Russia. Why is this?

[Nikolayev] In conditions of closed internal borders, and given the uncertainty over guaranteeing one's own safety on external borders, not a single Commonwealth state will be able fully to realize its economic, political, and cultural potential....

This is why CIS countries must go somewhat further in questions of protecting the borders than in other spheres. I know for a fact that this view is shared by the majority of the leaders of independent states.

In recent times I have visited (more than once) the republics of the Transcaucasus, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kirghizia [Kyrgyzstan], and not one of these states refutes the correctness of the approach to protecting CIS borders chosen by us: That is, to preserve what existed under the USSR, and to develop everything on a qualitatively new level.

[Ovsiyenko] Did the initial rush on the part of former Union republics for independence and statehood affect this approach?

[Nikolayev] I am happy to say that the ideology of the first days of independence is on the way out. Nowadays, the leaderships of the majority of CIS countries have realized that the sovereignty of a state—this is the sum total of rights and duties in respect of one another. And the border between the countries, the concept which prevails at present, creates good preconditions for the integration of the CIS member states.

Russia's president has often noted: The CIS countries have no alternative to integration. In this context, 1995 is destined to be a pivotal year for Russia.

From our files: Major operations were carried out along the whole perimeter of the Russian border in the year just ended. An analysis of these showed that negative trends are becoming ever more apparent on Russia's boundaries: the illegal migration of citizens from third countries across the border has increased, smuggling has become more widespread, as has trafficking in drugs, weapons, and strategic raw materials. The aspiration on the part of the fishermen of Japan, China, Taiwan, Poland, and Lithuania toward the dishonest and unregulated hunt for marine products in the exclusive economic zone of the Russian Federation has been exposed. The border guard troops have assumed control over the fishing activity of

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

around 19,000 boats, while 1,988 vessels are under surveillance, and 174 boats have been detained for illegal fishing. Damage to the value of 2.5 trillion rubles [R] was averted during operation "Putina" ["Fishing Season"].

[Ovsiyenko] But, Andrey Ivanovich, not all the Commonwealth countries have equal starting capabilities. What is to be done here?

[Nikolayev] From my viewpoint, if we proceed from such capabilities, there can be no single form of cooperation in questions of security. That is, within the framework of the CIS, we must propose a range of such forms. And, depending upon the states' level of readiness, each of them chooses the most suitable one for it.

[Ovsiyenko] So what, for instance, did Kirghizia choose, or Tajikistan?

[Nikolayev] The external borders of these two countries have been brought under the protection of Russian border guards. Upon meeting with Presidents Akayev and Rakhmonov, we discussed the issues of financing the troops in 1995, their staffing levels, the development of the infrastructure. Here, what we need are military hospitals, maintenance enterprises, schools, housing....

[Ovsiyenko] That is, Russia must not be expected to carry the burden of protecting the borders on its own?

[Nikolayev] Naturally. Tajikistan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia intend to dispatch their citizens not only to protect their own territories under the Russian flag, but also the borders of Russia and other CIS countries. These citizens will make up the basis of the national border guard services. However, I will point out that their formation will take time. The process of training a border division chief, for instance, takes 15-20 years.

[Ovsiyenko] What does the Tajik-Afghan relations tangle constitute?

[Nikolayev] This problem does not exist as such. There are no problems in the relations of the two states—these problems rest with the Tajik gunmen for whom Afghan territory has become a base.

[Ovsiyenko] What do you predict for the situation in this region during winter?

[Nikolayev] I think that the gunmen will begin to earn the money being paid to them. If there is no success in settling the cease-fire issue by spring, then hostilities will continue.

[Ovsiyenko] On the same scale as the year just ended?

[Nikolayev] I am not convinced that the hostilities will assume a large scale. But the quality of the gunmen's training is increasing. And this is tied to the fact that fewer and fewer Tajiks and more and more mercenaries are joining the ranks of the gunmen.

[Ovsiyenko] And what about the Russian Border Guard Troops?

[Nikolayev] They will be strengthened, their equipment, including aviation, will improve, and engineering backup for the protection of the border will rise to a new level.

[Ovsiyenko] In your view, what is required in order to establish peace in Tajikistan?

[Nikolayev] Both warring sides must hold out a hand to one another and realize that they are one people. The interests of this people come before the ambitions of one or other politician. Tajikistan is a wealthy country—it has uranium, rare-earth metals, coal, cotton. Incidentally, in 1994 over 600,000 tonnes of cotton was harvested, and by hand. If peace should dawn in Tajikistan, its people will prosper.

[Ovsiyenko] Andrey Ivanovich, was it your idea to set up the Federal Border Guard Service?

[Nikolayev] No. The idea came from Russia's president, who was able to understood the need for it and its significance for the country's security.

In the next two years the Federal Border Guard Service is expected to transmute once and for all into a special service designed to guarantee Russia's security and that of the borders of Commonwealth states on a contract basis.

Right now, not only our scientific centers but other scientific research institutes too, including the Ministry of Defense's Strategic Studies Institute, are involved in elaborating the future prospects of the Federal Border Guard Service. As a result, we will define our own place in the overall system for guaranteeing Russia's security, and we will formulate a federal program for the organizational and other development of the Federal Border Guard Service.

[Ovsiyenko] Is it the case that, with the creation of the Federal Border Guard Service, the special services are taking the leading role in guaranteeing the country's security?

[Nikolayev] Right now, a period has emerged in our history when the correlation between the Army and the special services in guaranteeing national security has changed dramatically. Organized crime, corruption, drug trafficking, illegal migration, smuggling, and the cross-border conveyance of weaponry seriously threaten Russia's security. Who can counter this—the Army or the special services? The answer, I believe, is clear—the special services, whose significance in these conditions is rising significantly. Incidentally, the president too mentioned this when designating priorities for the development of the system of national security.

From our files: In 1994, around 60 million people and 7.061 million vehicles passed through Federal Border Guard Service checkpoints. Border guard details confiscated contraband to the value of R11.5 billion, 1,435 items of weaponry, 4.5 kg of explosive substances, and 1,388 kg

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of narcotics, while the exportation of 32 tonnes of nonferrous metals and 840 tonnes of diesel fuel was prevented.

[Ovsiyenko] In that case, Andrey Ivanovich, what is behind the recent attempt by the Defense Ministry to absorb the Border Guard Troops?

[Nikolayev] This is a question for the leadership of the Defense Ministry. I categorically refuse to discuss it. The president has in the past brought this conversation to a close, and I have neither the moral nor legal right to return to it.

[Ovsiyenko] How did your appointment to the post of commander in chief of the Border Guard Troops come about?

[Nikolayev] The same as with any military individual. I was called in and told: You are to work in the Border Guard Troops. And that was the end of it.

By and large, I am grateful to fate for this turn of events. Now I look at the situation differently, interpreting it politically. It is from this viewpoint that I also approach the understanding of the tasks and functions of a state, and the resolution of questions affecting its security.

Moscow Reasserting Traditional Europe Role

MM0401103195 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jan 95 p 5

["Political Forecast" by Mikhail Shchipanov: "Superpower—Without Tutelage"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Many experts and political analysts believe that in the coming year the last questions regarding Russia's status as a great power will disappear. A "Russian season" is forecast on the world stage.

Two events crowned the outgoing year for Russia: President Yeltsin's statement in Budapest, in which he warned partners against the advent of a "cold peace," and the determination finally manifested by the federal authorities in restoring order in Chechnya. Outwardly these events are not very connected, as long as you do not take into account the sharp reaction displayed by political aesthetes who wince at the "imperial stench"—puttees or kersey shoes. It was clear what shape the Russian spirit could still take!

It is extremely typical that the aesthetes who prefer to tackle politics (a filthy business!) in imported white gloves were not at all worried by this year's terse statement from Washington to the effect that Russia can have no special interests outside its borders. Two years ago they tried to persuade us that there was no need for the "hand of Moscow" to extend toward Latin America and Cuba, say. Why? It is a long way! Later people began to hint that Russia was too big for Europe, which was not keen to have a bull in its china shop. Finally there were suggestions that we yield to "egocentrism" within our own vague borders. When indignant voices were heard in Moscow regarding the Kremlin's adequate response to the formation of a bandit state in Chechnya, the paradoxical conclusion began to be self-evident that any manifestation of state interests within our own borders was utterly out of line. There could be no special interests outside Russia's borders or even, evidently, outside the perimeter of the Kremlin Wall.

However, fairly shortly the vociferous right- and left-wingers heroically chanting "Hands off Dudayev" found themselves in the position of Bulgakov's Ivan Bezdomnyy, who cried "wolf!" and was left completely and annoyingly alone. No choir took shape around "world public opinion." The new independent states that emerged from the recent indestructible family had difficulty hiding their satisfaction. It is quite obvious that for Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine the important precedent of defending territorial integrity has been set, and in the future this will in practice guarantee Moscow's support for its CIS partners in similar situations where political means of pressure have been exhausted.

The position espoused by the West, which has rather reluctantly acknowledged the development of events in Chechnya to be Russia's internal affair (a great mercy!), is due to far more important factors than its fear for unstable allies like Turkey, which are committed to talking to their own ethnic minorities solely in the language of force. Recent events have rather taught our historical partners that people in Moscow have simply ceased to be as submissively receptive to sermons as they were, for instance, two years ago.

Then virtually every major manifestation of our troubled life was accompanied by the usual perestroyka refrain: "What will the West say?" The leading light of democracy and civilization (it is not for nothing that countries west of the Bug were known as "civilized") invariably played the role of the notorious Princess Mariya Alekseyevna [reference unknown], as a far-off but very strict arbiter.

In the past few years people in Russia have not considered the West to be a hostile force. It is just that they have gotten fed up with being fleeced in those years when they have gone to look for wool. The Council of Europe's delay in admitting Russia when it was in a hurry to allocate the Balts a place, the forecasts that under no circumstances will we be able to join the European Union [EU], and, last, the ostentatious invitation to the former Soviet satellites to join the North Atlantic alliance have put Russia in the position of a marriageable girl who has lost the attentions of her suitors.

Indeed, while Russia was "dismantling" the Soviet legacy—giving the "go-ahead" to German reunification, presenting no obstacles to the dissolution of the socialist camp's military-political alliances, withdrawing its troops from Europe, troops that were transformed from being Soviet to purely Russian troops—people simply pressed us to enter Europe and cleared a place of honor

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

for us. But as soon as it emerged that the legacy had been handed out, the attitude toward us changed in a flash.

The "European globe" was also reconstituted at odd moments, as it were. The old idea in vogue under De Gaulle of a "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals," which became even more extensive in the Gorbachev era and stretched to Vancouver, was forgotten by the former pan-European forums.

It was there and then that we were advised not to upset the established order by showing our face outside our borders. And who gave that advice? The Americans, who by promoting the expansion of NATO are strengthening the mechanism for their own presence in Europe. Well, it is a very long way from California and Texas—which were, incidentally, borrowed from Mexico.

It is funny that our voluntary guardians and instructors, while censuring Russia for its anti-NATO shortsightedness, are themselves falling into their own sophistic trap. How can that be—they feign indignation. After all, during the talks on German unification Moscow quite reasonably agreed that the Germans integrated en masse into NATO are preferable to a neutral vacuum in central Europe. However, the whole point is that Russia did indeed see Germany's "ownerless state" as a basis for the revival of the revanchist demons. If you use the same yardsticks to approach Poland's or Hungary's admission to the North Atlantic bloc, you have to admit that those countries can simply be dangerous to their neighbors.

However, the fuss over NATO does not end at the level of sophisms. The recovery of "Russian interests" in Western relations with the new independent states may quite well be the next objective. Primarily with Ukraine. Moscow is indeed now hinting unofficially that the border of Atlanticism will run down the Bug. Outside Ukraine, Belorussia [Belarus], and Moldavia [Moldova]. All that is naturally being presented as respecting Russia's historical interests and showing reluctance to destroy the residual balance in Europe. In this case there are no losers. The European stomach would have great difficulty in digesting our former Warsaw Pact allies, and Ukraine could simply cause indigestion. That is why it is tactically effective not to admit Kiev to the common European family but to use Russia as the universal excuse for everything. Thus an additional lever may be obtained for regulating Russian-Ukrainian relations from the outside. People in Kiev could indeed once again start associating all their own natural failures with machinations on the part of the imperial egotist, Moscow.

It is important for Russia, whose relations with the United States during the period in which communism was being dismantled were indeed artificially friendly, to simply and clearly define the areas where its national interests differ from those of the United States and learn how to settle and control those natural differences with the least possible losses.

So, if you remember Stolypin's once-popular words, what we actually need is not a great upheaval but a great Russia. Paradoxically enough, the Americans need neither. Washington analysts are extremely afraid both of a strengthening of what was once their main world rival and of dramatic destabilization in Russia, with the threat of its subsequent collapse. The best model for them is a Russia constantly teetering on the brink of crisis but never falling over the edge. A Russia that keeps itself to itself with its own internal problems.

What will happen in the coming year? We will still be politely but insistently refused admission to Europe and kept out of the continent's problems. There is nothing new in that, and at any rate the process will by no means have anything to do with Russia's loyalty to the formula of high democracy. In any Sovietologist's work you may find a 16th century document—a letter from the Polish king to his "English sister" Elizabeth I, in which the queen of England is warned against developing trading links with the Muscovy of Ivan the Terrible in order to ensure that "Moscow's impious czar" does not strengthen his power. However, this historical constancy looks by no means tragical to us. First, in any situation Russia will remain one of the centers governing Europe's political climate. Second, if Western suprastate institutions are "reinforced" with our former satellites, the truncated Europe "from the Atlantic to the Bug" cannot avoid further destratification, the formation of a "two-speed" EU, and an increase in the so-called "hard core," of which the Paris-Bonn axis might quite well form the basis. Thus, Russia will mainly have to do business once again not with this restricted Europe as a whole entity but with its traditional, equal partners.

What is more, many of the newly independent states which have flown the Soviet nest will not allow people to forget Russia's significance for the continent. It is impossible for them, primarily the Balts, to define their own status without constantly selling the "Soviet threat" and without suggesting themselves as an overburdensome new cordon sanitaire for the West. Otherwise, once the Russian troops have finally been withdrawn, these countries run the risk of simply being forgotten. That is why the old idea of the threat posed by our troops stationed in Kaliningrad Oblast is being bandied about at this time.

Russia's new situation, which will be characterized increasingly boldly by President Yeltsin's "Budapest" idea regarding the possibility of a nonconfrontational, multipolar world should considerably suit our CIS partners. Clearly Russia and its Commonwealth partners will constitute the same kind of pole of influence as the United States, Europe, China, and Japan. However, Moscow's new geostrategic directive should inevitably lend greater flexibility and consistency to its policy toward partners dependent on Russian generosity. Moreover, the new-"model" CIS could be a kind of rendevous point in contacts between the former Soviet republics and the EU. Thus the influence and potential of each of the new presidents will be multiplied by the Commonwealth's overall potential.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The motto "Without Anger or Prejudice" could represent the formula for Russia's relations with its Western partners—no confrontation and no accommodation.

Delay in Japanese Debt Repayment Blamed on Chechen Events

MM0401101795 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Sergey Agafonov: "Money That Should Have Been Repaid to Japan Has Gone to Chechnya"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tokyo—At the close of the year Japan's KYODO news agency, citing unidentified members of Japanese buisiness circles, reported some interesting information, the gist of which is as follows: The Russian government has again postponed indefinitely talks and decisions on repaying the debt to Japanese corporations and firms (totaling $1.1 billion), citing the events in Chechnya.

The Chechen motif is a new element in Moscow's dialogue with desperate creditors, a fruitful stratagem that clearly came along at the right time. The working version formerly used to explain the delay in unraveling the Japanese debt problem was either the quest for a debt repayment formula or difficulties in getting the state budget through the Russian parliament. Now, with the new gambit, everything is much simpler. What debts can there be when Moscow is struggling to "restore constitutional order" in the Caucasus?

It was explained to me by people in the know that the actual subtext to the Japanese debt affair is somewhat different and is not connected with Chechnya at all. The whole affair revolves around two settlement formulas, one of which was proposed by the Japanese, the other having emanated from the Russian Finance Ministry. What is Tokyo proposing? The Russian debt to Japanese private corporations will be transferred to the area of public debt, that is, when agreement has been reached the Japanese government will allocate a specific sum to pay off the debt to Japanese companies and Russia's debt to Japan will increase by that amount. The Russian Finance Ministry prefers another scenario: The Russian Government will issue bills of exchange in the amount of the debt to Russian enterprises and organizations which ended up in debt to the Japanese, since all their accounts and deposits had been frozen by our glorious state. According to this plan, the bills of exchange will be issued now, they can be pledged as security, and there will even be an interest charge on them of 3 percent per annum in hard currency. They will be paid back in several stages. The first stage, incidentally, has already taken place, but Japanese debts did not come into it, since the Japanese do not possess the same levers in Moscow as competing European creditors.

Formally speaking, Russia and Japan have not actually reached agreement yet on a settlement formula, so Moscow's declared willingness to settle remains a mere promise, the realization of which is again being deferred due to Chechnya. Probably very few Russian officials know what Chechnya has to do with it. But the very appearance of the Chechen crisis as an argument in the dialogue on topics that are clearly unconnected with the Caucasus war can definitely be described as symbolic.

Tajik National Currency Imminent; Viability Questioned

MM0301162795 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by Boris Vinogradov: "Russian Rubles With Tajik Symbols"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has been announced in Dushanbe that Tajikistan is going to introduce its own currency at the end of January-start of February. It has taken the independent republic more than a year to do what other countries of the CIS have already done.

The hopes of remaining within the ruble zone have perished. This happened after a government delegation from Dushanbe visited Moscow and returned home without new Russian credits. At the ministry for CIS affairs it was told that Russia is no longer able to supply the Tajik economy with its own money and Tajikistan would do well to put its own national currency into circulation.

In appearance Tajikistan's banknotes look the same as 1993-issue Russian rubles but have a special symbol in the form of a small mark in the corners. Some 300 billion so-called "Tajik rubles" were printed in Russia six months ago but lay as dead weight in the basement of the Main Administration for Production of State Bank Notes, Coins, and Medals because experts from both sides doubted their viability.

The doubts remain. Some financiers believe that these banknotes will not be greeted with confidence in the market because the economy cannot back up their prestige with a supply of goods. Almost 80 percent of Tajikistan's budget is formed by credits and aid from Russia. No one is going to invest in a country where political instability persists alongside economic crisis.

In the past two years Russia has granted Tajikistan several credits amounting to 250 billion rubles. This does not include the cost of protecting the border with Afghanistan and carrying out peacemaking operations. However, according to Central Bank of Russia assessments, that costs at least the same amount. The main burden of that cost is borne by Russia as well.

Both Soviet and Russian rubles are in circulation in Tajikistan today. The old currency serves as small change while the new money was issued by Moscow on surety of part of the gold reserve and a number of major industrial installations. Under an agreement signed earlier, Tajikistan was supposed to have entered the ruble

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

zone back in June this year. Dushanbe fulfilled all the terms to the letter but Moscow had second thoughts.

Exports of Dual-Use Chemicals To Be Monitored

MM0301150595 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jan 95 p 6

[Article by Tatyana Kharlamova: "Chemicals for Soap"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation president has signed a directive "On Monitoring the Export From the Russian Federation of Chemicals, Equipment, and Technologies That Have a Civilian Application But Can be Used in the Development of Chemical Weapons."

Nowadays virtually any country can produce a mass-destruction weapon from a range of certain components. That is why it is so important to monitor the export of these components. International clubs are being set up to monitor observance of the international norms governing the export and use of dangerous chemicals.

We were told by Russia's Federal Service for Currency and Export Controls that many chemicals on the list appended to the presidential directive have an entirely civilian application and are used, for instance, in shampoos and other perfumery. But they can also be used to manufacture chemical weapons. That is why it is so important to keep an eye on things.

Rules governing export controls and general-purpose criteria have been formulated. First, the importer country must state that the chemical or equipment that it is importing will not be used to manufacture weapons. Second, this statement must be corroborated by the country's state body.

For instance, a dummy enterprise concludes a contract with a Russian chemical combine and bids to import chemicals. No transactions are possible without state confirmation at the highest level regarding the purpose of the imports. This is primarily to protect Russia's national interests. Chemicals must be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. Under our law a breach of the export control regulations is punishable by between five and seven years' imprisonment.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Political Issues

Russians Bomb Town, Destroy Hospital

LD0301223595 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 2200 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On Tuesday evening, Russian aircraft bombed the town of Shali, 30 km from Groznyy. According to State Duma Deputy Anatoliy Shabad, the local hospital was destroyed. Several bombs exploded in the town's markets. More than 100 people were killed, Shabad claimed.

Groznyy Clashes Kill Many Russians

LD0301220195 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 2118 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Clashes continued in Groznyy on Tuesday [3 January]. [passage omitted]

There have been no precise casualty figures so far. According to Ingush Vice President Boris Agapov, the number of Russian prisoners of war in Groznyy is approaching 500. Nearly 1,000 have been killed, and between 150 and 180 armored vehicles have been put out of action, according to the POSTFAKTUM agency. The press service of the Russian Government has admitted the loss of dozens of tanks and APCs, but no figures have been published concerning the losses in personnel. [passage omitted]

Duma Deputies Send Letter to Chernomyrdin

LD0301221495 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Jan 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] In our previous report we did not include video footage showing the dead bodies of soldiers and irregulars, which literally fill the streets of Groznyy. These pictures are horrible, but it is absolutely clear to us that video reports from Chechnya disprove official relays from Groznyy. This was also stated in an open letter by Sergey Kovalev and his colleagues who are now in Groznyy. The letter is addressed to Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Government. I will quote extracts from this message:

Esteemed Viktor Stepanovich, my numerous appeals to the Russian leaders have remained without result and without response. I am not sure that they have actually reached you, so I am now sending you an open letter. I have serious reason to believe that neither you nor the president have reliable information on the situation in the city of Groznyy and in Chechnya. Official media sources are full of misinformation, based on the lies told by the military. As you may know, I have been holding unofficial consultations with the Chechen leaders at the request of Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. The Chechen side has said it is ready to begin flexible talks on a cease-fire, on coordinated movements aimed at separating the troops, and on setting up a joint monitoring commission. More complicated issues, including those of disarmament, the republic's status, and some others, will be discussed at a later stage. The Chechen side has expressed its willingness to start talks immediately. However, my entire work has gone unheeded again. Nevertheless, even now it is not too late to resume the negotiating process. I have been assured that the Chechen side is ready for it even at this stage, naturally on condition that the Russian troops are withdrawn to the initial positions they held prior to the assault on Groznyy.

Denounce Government 'Lies' on Chechnya

LD0301205795 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Jan 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yuriy Baturin, the president's aide in charge of national security issues, had a meeting in the Kremlin today with a group of the State Duma deputies who have just returned from Chechnya. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss possible ways of restoring constitutional legality, law, and order in the republic as soon as possible.

[Begin V. Kurochkin, Federation Council deputy, recording] I must say that shameless lies are being told, not by the media but by the president's [pauses] ... I mean the government's press service, because the media are being forced to broadcast government press service reports. [end recording]

[Correspondent S. Milyanchikov] This is how Russian parliamentary deputies are commenting on the official reports coming in from Chechnya. Therefore, let us give the floor to eye-witnesses who have just returned from Groznyy. They have not only seen hundreds of prisoners with their own eyes, but have also spoken to them.

[Begin recording] [A. Osovtsov, State Duma deputy, identified by caption] We discovered that they did not even fully realize where they are. These particular soldiers had been brought there from Samara. They were told the situation is still unclear and that they were flying there to protect roads. They arrived, spent about 48 hours in some field, and it was not until they were captured that they had the first warm meal for several days. One of them asked us below his breath: Can you please tell me who is fighting whom?

[Kurochkin] The tanks entered the city and the infantry was cut off virtually at once, as it happened on 26 November [as heard], and so the tanks remained alone, blockaded in the town. It became clear by the end of the first day that they would be destroyed. Seeing that they were doomed to death, it was possible in that situation to come to an agreement on withdrawing those tanks from the town. But alas, these young guys—our servicemen who are 18- 19 year old—hundreds of them are lying in

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the streets. The Chechens bury their own dead and the civilian casualties at once, but these guys, who were killed on 31 December—we saw them lying near the presidential palace—were still lying there two days later when we left on 2 January. [end recording]

Forward Letters of 'Concern' to Yeltsin

LD0301194595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1914 GMT 3 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS writer Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Letters of Duma deputies signed by Russian plenipotentiary for human rights Sergey Kovalev, Viktor Sheynis, Lev Ponomaryev, Gleb Yakunin and other parliament members who returned from Groznyy on January 2 were passed over to President Yeltsin today by assistant to the president for national security Yuriy Baturin.

Baturin told ITAR-TASS he has met the aforesaid Duma deputies who witnessed a military operation held by the Russian Army in Groznyy on the eve of January 1. In the words of Baturin, "Concern over the Chechen developments is shared by almost everyone".

According to the presidential assistant, the deputies admitted that reports reaching here from Groznyy must have a comprehensive estimation.

Despite the reports of some sources, the Russian president receives all correspondence addressed to him on Chechen developments, including statements of Russian plenipotentiary for human rights Sergey Kovalev and appeals of Duma deputies.

The letter addressed to the Russian president and signed by Sergey Kovalev, Viktor Sheynis and other deputies suggests to take immediate measures to stop the bloodshed in Chechnya, resume negotiations with Dzhokhar Dudayev and lift the information blockade from state mass media bodies.

In the words of Baturin, "Intensive consultations on Chechen developments were held in Kremlin on January 3 to involve heads of the presidential administration, assistants and aides of the president, politicians and independent experts."

Dudayev Supporters Seen To Violate Constitution

LD0301191995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1842 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 3 Jan—A statement by the Russian Federation Procurator General's office has been received for distribution by the press service of the Government of the Russian Federation.

The statement says: "The constitution and laws of the Russian Federation and the rights and freedoms of citizens continue to be flouted in the Chechen Republic. Illegal armed formations are operating. There is a real threat to state security and to the territorial integrity and inviolability of the Russian Federation and to its sovereignty.

"Dzhokhar Dudayev and his supporters rejected measures taken by the president and Government of Russia to restore constitutional legality and law and order on the territory of the Chechen Republic, the humane opportunity given to disarm voluntarily, and the amnesty pronounced for those who did lay down their arms. The outright refusal to comply with the legitimate requests of the federal authorities and the direct application of force to resist them has led to bloodshed and to casualties among the population and among servicemen performing their duties.

"The Procurator General's office of the Russian Federation regards the actions of all persons who head illegal armed formations on the territory of the Chechen Republic or who play a direct part in them as illegal and states that they are accountable before the laws of the Russian Federation."

Government on Chechen Plans To 'Divide' Region

LD0301185995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1803 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 3 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—Today ITAR- TASS received the following report from the Russian Government's Press Service:

"The Government's Press Service has received a report from military intelligence, which shows that the continuous defensive actions by illegal armed formations and the senseless street battles being fought in the current situation, have a far-reaching political design.

"The military intelligence bodies are in possession of a scenario for the further actions of Groznyy's leaders. There are plans to divide the Chechen Republic into northern and southern parts. In the south, Groznyy's leaders plan to set up a special zone with an authoritarian regime of government. Long preparations are needed in order to implement the "South Chechnya" scenario. And it is this precise reason which is forcing Groznyy to continue its resistance, despite daily losses."

Another report received by Itar-Tass from the Government's Press Service today reads:

"According to counter-intelligence bodies, combatant Vasiliy Nesterenko, born in the village of Nikolayevskaya, Chechen Republic, who had earlier been detained in Groznyy's central prison, has said that, on 31 December 1994, all the criminals who volunteered to take part in hostilities against Russian troops were released from the prison.

"Seventy inmates released from Naurskiy Prison were quoted as an example in conversations with criminals. "They are fighting bravely against Russians, and we expect you to do the same," Dudayev's emissaries told the criminals.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

According to V. Nesterenko, the released prisoners took part in the execution of a group of Ukrainian nationalists from the UNSO [Ukrainian national self-defense] who had tried to leave Groznyy."

Gonchar: Combat Operations Must be Stopped

LD0301184595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1749 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 3 (INTERFAX)—Chairman of the Federation Council's Committee for the Budget and Finances Nikolay Gonchar told INTERFAX in Moscow on Tuesday that the Russian troops' attempted New Year assault on Groznyy marked the final failure of the military solution of the Chechen crisis. He also said that "combat operations must be stopped without delay, the troops removed from Groznyy and talks started with Dudayev and other field commanders." The withdrawal of the troops and the talks must be controlled by observers, recognized by both sides, say a group of the Russian Federation's Commissioner for Human Rights Sergey Kovalev and Federation Council deputies, said Gonchar.

"I do not belong to Yeltsin's supporters, and I'm concerned about the way he will cope with the situation, not the way he will save his face," he said. "If the president does not stop the bloodshed immediately, if the troops continue their assault on Groznyy, Russia will be faced with unpredictable consequences," said Gonchar.

LDP Rules Out Talks With Chechens

LD0301184195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1749 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 3 (INTERFAX)—No return to political talks with the Chechen leadership on the present stage of the conflict is possible, according to State Duma Deputy Speaker Aleksandr Vengerovskiy of the Liberal Democratic faction.

Vengerovskiy told INTERFAX Tuesday that if the Russian leadership "made a power decision, it has to be fulfilled, otherwise a power crisis will happen in the country."

According to Vengerovskiy, now the Russian Parliament can in no way impact the developments in Chechnya.

Vengerovskiy said democratic deputies' trips to the region were "useless Brown movement [as received] of politicians acting exclusively in their own political interests."

Vengerovskiy also pointed to the lack of coordination in the activities of executive bodies and "collective brain" and "single line."

Fedorov Reaffirms Support for Chechnya Policy

MM0301175195 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Aleksandra Lugovskaya: "...But Boris Fedorov Continues to Support Yeltsin"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The voice of Boris Fedorov, the well known politician who leads the "Union of 12 December" deputies' group of liberal democrats in the State Duma, continues to ring out in support of the actions undertaken by the president in Chechnya, clashing sharply with the "choir of peacemakers." Russia's former finance minister, having switched his professional field, is still himself: a firm and consistent statesman.

[Fedorov begins] I support the president's attempt to impose constitutional order in Chechnya through forcible means, primarily because Dudayev's unlawful regime, armed to the teeth, is putting up forcible resistance to this order. There is no other way of dealing with weapons. There must be no doubts: If we were to retreat in Chechnya, tomorrow we would retreat in other regions too. The fate of Russian statehood is at stake, and it is impossible to view the Chechen crisis on a different plane.

Now, about methods. Of course, bombing and storming—this is not a good idea. We have sufficient professionals to ensure that the entire plan conceived by the president and the government be carried out as a military operation to seize Dudayev's limited group: his entourage and "crack" gunmen. It was necessary to do battle only with them, and not to turn the restoration of order into a war. And to settle this problem in 24 hours. But Dudayev has not been captured, and the soldiers are digging trenches. And, naturally, I am stunned by the inefficiency of our giant Army.

But I am even more exasperated by our political leaders, who are appearing in the mass media with demands for peace talks. With whom—gangsters? In the three years when innocent people were being killed in Chechnya, the politicians sat back quietly. Now they are coming out in unison against war, but they do not know how bring peace to that region. And at the same time, they are "savoring the bloodshed," they are organizing intellectual, lyrical gatherings. This is unacceptable for politicians and doubly so for democrats, because they are in power, because the president for the first time in two years has begun to act.

I do not understand who prevented the Federation Council, which is now "pointing the finger...," from holding talks with the president before this action started? And why are the speakers of both chambers and their deputies playing at personal politics? Although Rybkin's stance, compared to Shumeyko, is better balanced. For me, the answer is clear: In our country, everybody is a genius, everybody aspires to be president. Hence the appraisals. For the communists, everything the president does is bad, a nightmare, catastrophic. Zhirinovskiy, at first, also played into their hands, although he came to his senses in time. Gaydar and Yavlinskiy spout liberalism so as to look good in the voters' eyes. Kovalev is more honest in his deeds: and so he should be, so that the country might know how many

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

citizens have been killed, and what the authorities are doing. But Sergey Adamovich is also getting involved in politics in Chechnya, indicating to the president what to do and how. Although the president is responsible for the progress of the whole operation, and he is subordinate only to the Law.

When I hear politicians attacking the president, especially those who sit in the Federal Assembly, and when I compare this frenzied criticism with the real state of affairs—non-payment of taxes, the demands of political and economic sovereignties, the appearance abroad of "plenipotentiary" missions of Russian national republics—I arrive at the simple conclusion: Our politicians are either blatant saboteurs, or else they understand nothing about running the country.

We can see the state collapsing before our very eyes. Today, it is a "decapitated body." One reason is the "weakness" shown by the president, which has become a mistake. It has to be rectified. We need a strong center, and all Federation components need unified status. With parliaments and organs of representative power, naturally. But agreements and treaties between the Federal government and the republics on the separation of powers must be abrogated. Otherwise, five years from now, there simply will not be any such "policy" on the part of our Russia.

Nowadays, there are fewer and fewer people willing to support the central government. But there is a chance to rectify this position. The main thing is to feed people precise, objective, and sensible information about everything which is happening in the country, particularly in Chechnya. And if we are patriots of our Russia, then we are simply obliged to change today's minuses in its status to pluses. The politicians especially. I am an optimist.

Yushenkov Urges End to Military Action

LD0301164595 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 1454 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On Tuesday at the Solovetskiy memorial stone in Lubyanka square, the human rights organization Memorial organized a mourning ceremony in memory of those who have died since the beginning of the bloodshed in Chechnya. Earlier the committee of Russian soldiers' mothers tried to hold a protest demonstration in Red Square against the war in Chechnya. However, the militia did not allow the participants in the demonstration onto Red Square and they joined the demonstrators at the Lubyanka.

The war in the north Caucasus is being conducted against Russian democracy and freedom, Sergey Yushenkov, the chairman of the Duma Committee for Defense, said at the demonstration. He thinks that military action now needs to be stopped and talks held with Dudayev as he is the person who is really controlling the situation. He also said that the president needed to dismiss almost all the Security Council and achieve a settlement in Chechnya through other people.

Kostikov Calls Chechnya Situation 'Tragedy'

LD0301162195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1553 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Presidential press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov had an interview with ITAR-TASS political writer Tamara Zamyatina today.

Question: What do you think about the situation around Chechnya?

Answer: I think the same that the majority of Russian citizens: it is a tragedy when the blood of Russian soldiers and civilians is being spilled and it makes one think about the mistakes made by politicians.

Question: What is the main mistake?

Answer: The situation was neglected for too long despite the objective difficulties. The drastic measures, including those special, should have been taken before. Now the scalpel had to be used.

Question: Many think it is rather an axe than the scalpel.

Answer: I agree that the actions are far from being intricate. However, Russia was forced to chose these means of pressure by the Chechen side. Someone is prone to accuse Russia of an aggression. Someone abroad has decided to make use of the situation and put in question the democratic essence of new Russia. In fact, the aggression was made against the Russian Constitution, and Moscow is taking a forced measure to protect it. I think that one should raise the question of professionalism of the operation drafters and its poor organization instead of lawfulness of presidential actions. None has cared about timely preparing the public opinion and coordination of political parties.

Question: Many observers, including such authoritative as Sergey Kovalev, believe that actions of the Russian authorities are inflicting a damage on human rights.

Answer: The principle of morality is good for civilized relations and developed democracy. Dudayev exceeded the framework of democracy and civilized relations. One cannot demand that Russia turn the other cheek when it is humiliated and its citizens are turned into refugees and outcasts in their own homeland. Sergey Kovalev understands his mission correctly - to sound the alarm when human rights are violated in Chechnya. Violence must be stopped, primarily by those who began it long before the Russian troops entered Chechnya including the violence against the Chechen people.

Question: Can the disputable relations be settled in negotiations?

Answer: Russia and Chechnya have no disputable issues, and there are no contradictions between Russians and

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Chechens. The question of the Chechen status is not disputable. This fruitless discussion is being imposed on Moscow. Negotiations can and must be held but exclusively on the procedure of disarming the gangs, laying down of arms, civilian structure of Chechen society within the Russian framework and the scale of assistance Russia is ready to render to the Chechen Republic to repair the damage done by the Dudayev regime.

Question: Whom Russia is ready to negotiate with?

Answer: Chechen society is specific. The clan relations are strong there, and the role of elders and the clergy is high. Chechnya does not have a leader that can be trusted in negotiations. Dudayev has deceived his people and Moscow for so much that he has exhausted the confidence limit. I think that the Chechen Republic can be represented by a delegation to include renowned representatives of Chechen public. I would not exclude the participation of a reasonable part of field commanders who enjoy the authority and are ready to use it for the sake of restoring civil peace in Chechnya.

Question: Do you believe in a possibility to restore peace in Chechnya?

Answer: There is simply no other way. The denial of a peace possibility and the ideology of sacred war are leading the Chechen people to death, self-destruction. A nation cannot do it. The Chechen nation is sound, strong and wise. It should get rid of leaders who are bringing it to an abyss and use the centuries-long experience of peaceful coexistence with Russia.

Question: Does Boris Yeltsin have a settlement plan?

Answer: It was outlined in detail in the decree and the appeal to the Chechen people. Russia keeps the door to settlement open. No one in Moscow wants more bloodshed. I want to repeat the words of the Russian president about the crisis in the Chechen Republic: "I do not doubt that the Chechen Republic will revise and peace and accord will come back to its land".

Soldiers' Mothers Rally for End to Conflict

LD0301131895 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Jan 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] An unsanctioned rally by soldiers' mothers took place in Moscow today. What was in their hearts came out in their emotions. The soldiers' mothers demanded an end to military actions in Chechnya and the return home of their children.

The peaceful procession headed for Red Square but they were not allowed in—an application to hold a rally must be submitted 10 days before it is to be held. But who knows what may happen tomorrow or even today? [passage omitted] [video shows women holding posters: hand-written poster thanks mass media for information on Chechnya, naming NTV and Moscow Ekho in particular; another placard calls for end to bloodshed and for sons to be returned to Russia; another shown in close-up reads: "Mr. President, remember the blood of soldiers of Russia and inhabitants of Chechnya is on your conscience!"; procession of women and of Buddhists dressed in orange suits and banging a drum shown, militia man speaking into walkie-talkie, Kremlin and Red Square in background, woman with poster saying she is the mother of a POW]

Chechen Representative Notes Groznyy Losses

LD0301142395 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 1200 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sharip Yusupov, Dzhokhar Dudayev's representative in Moscow, has reported information about the events of the last few days, which he received yesterday from Groznyy:

[Begin Yusupov recording] Russia has 18 tanks destroyed, 20 of their crews have been taken prisoner; tanks were involved in fighting and were taken, that is T-90 tanks were taken—the most modern tanks; more than 600 people (?servicemen); there are more than 400 prisoners of war, including one general and four colonels.

I want to say that there is information, Russian information, on losses on the Chechen side—the Chechen population in Groznyy that includes the Russian-speaking population has more than 3,000 dead and more than 2,000 wounded, basically from the peaceful population.

I would like to say that the committee of Chechen mothers has appealed to the Russian soldiers' mothers committee and invited them to Groznyy to take away their children who are prisoners of war. [end recording]

Gaydar on Yeltsin's 'Power' To Stop Crisis

LD0301160495 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1315 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Moscow today there was a session of the Coordinating Council of the Democratic Russia's Choice devoted to the situation in Chechnya. Our correspondent Yuriy Korotkov interviewed Yegor Gaydar:

[Begin recording] [Korotkov] Yegor Timurovich, how do you assess the events in Chechnya from the point of view of international law?

[Gaydar] I think that what has happened in the past few days has gone far beyond the framework of Russia's internal affair. It is a mass-scale violation of human rights. However you look at it, it is a war crime, and it should definitely be an object of the close attention of all international institutions including the CSCE. I should remind you that Sergey Adamovich Kovalev, our colleague, has called for such close attention already days ago.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Korotkov] What does your faction intend to do now—your proposals?

[Gaydar] First we will insist on the convocation of an extraordinary session of the State Duma. We will demand that amendments to the Constitution be tabled at this session introducing watchdog functions of parliament. We will insist on the adoption of laws on the status of the participants in the conflict, which would stop oppression and violence there. We will insist on the adoption of laws guaranteeing glasnost on what is happening including the obligation of the Ministry of Defense to provide glasnost to lists of the dead. We will insist on taking a decision on holding parliamentary hearings on the Chechen conflict.

These are our most urgent actions. We will work together for maximum unity of reasonable democratic forces in stopping the conflict.

[Korotkov] Yegor Timurovich, whom do you see today as your allies against the war in Chechnya?

[Gaydar] I think our allies might be the arts unions, the organizations of the intelligentsia, women's organizations including the soldiers' mothers' association, I hope our allies might be the Yabloko faction, which has consistently come out against the war in Chechnya, and the democratic organizations like the Democratic Russia movement, Russia's Choice movement. In brief, a fairly broad circle of organizations are our allies to date on this major question for Russia.

[Korotkov] Tell me please, does there now exist any real lever to stop the war in Chechnya?

[Gaydar] The only real lever to date to stop it lies in the hands of the president who himself is answerable for it all. No one apart from the president has the power to stop what has happened. I am profoundly convinced that today the president has the chance to preserve something reasonable in Russia only if he uses the levers that he has to stop what has happened and if he himself starts to get rid of those people who dragged him into this dubious venture. [end recording]

Yeltsin Issues Edict on Chechnya Rights

MM0301124595 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jan 95 p 2

[Edict No. 2224 of the Russian Federation president "On a Temporary Oversight Commission for the Observance of Citizens' Constitutional Rights and Freedoms," signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated 28 December 1994]

[FBIS Translated Text] With a view to monitoring observance of citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms in the process of restoring constitutional legality in the Chechen Republic and in line with the accord between the Russian Federation president and the Federal Assembly Federation Council and State Duma I decree that:

1. A Temporary Oversight Commission for the Observance of Citizens' Constitutional Rights and Freedoms (hereinafter the Commission) shall be formed from representatives of the Russian Federation Presidential Staff and the Federal Assembly Federation Council and State Duma.

2. V.A. Kovalev, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly State Duma, shall be appointed chairman of the Commission (with his agreement).

The appended membership of the Commission (not published) shall be ratified.

3. It shall be established that with a view to monitoring compliance with the provisions of the Russian Federation Constitution on citizens' rights and freedoms of the actions taken by subunits of the Russian Federation Armed Forces and Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops, as well as subunits ensuring public safety in the Chechen Republic and the disarmament of armed formations for which federal legislation makes no provision, the Commission has the right:

a) to obtain information necessary to perform its tasks from the people directing operations to restore constitutional legality in the Chechen Republic;

b) to observe, after notifying the command of the federal armed subunits operating in the Chechen Republic, the progress made in performing the tasks assigned to the relevant subunits and also to conduct explanatory work with the commanders of the relevant subunits and their personnel;

c) to make submissions regarding detected violations of citizens' rights and freedoms and instances of obstruction of its their to the Russian Federation president and also to the leaders of the corresponding federal executive organs.

The Commission's submissions are to be examined within three days of their receipt. The leaders of federal executive bodies bear personal responsibility for the timely examination of the Commission's submissions and for calling to account people who are guilty of violating citizens' rights and freedoms or who impede the Commission's activity;

d) to collaborate with the personnel of the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office and rights-defense organizations operating in the Chechen Republic.

4. It shall be established that in order to ensure the effective activity of the Commission:

a) federal executive organs and executive organs in Russian Federation components shall assist the Commission's activity;

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

b) the command of federal armed subunits in whose zone of operation members of the Commission find themselves shall ensure their personal safety;

c) the Russian Federation Presidential Staff shall provide financial, informational, and material-technical support for the Commission's activity.

5. It shall be established that the Commission shall operate until the process of restoring constitutional legality in the Chechen Republic has been fully completed.

6. This Edict comes into force from the day it is signed.

[signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 28 December 1994

Yabloko Leader Calls on Yeltsin To Resign

LD0401121195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1128 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleskandrova]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 4 Jan—Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the Yabloko parliamentary group, has called on Yeltsin to volunteer his resignation in connection with events in the Chechen Republic.

In a statement circulated today, Yavlinskiy notes: "We think it is indisputable that neither Boris Yeltsin nor his ministers in Army uniform can now settle the conflict in Chechnya. There is one way out; they should go for the sake of our country's future."

The leader of the Yabloko group notes that the president's dismissal from duty is impossible both formally and juridically; therefore, he sees one constitutional way out of the prevailing situation: the president's voluntary resignation.

Yavlinskiy thinks that, soon after this, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin—as he will temporarily take on the duties of the president—must stop the assault on Groznyy, reach agreement on a cease-fire, and guarantee the withdrawal of federal forces and Dudayev supporters. In addition, this politician thinks, agreements need to be reached on the exchange of prisoners, and talks need to be held on the political status of the Chechen Republic and on economic issues. At the same time, free elections must be held in Chechnya.

Communist, Others Give New Year's Interviews

MM0301165095 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed, undated New Year interviews with Russian political and public figures: "The Year of the Pig Must Not Play a Dirty Trick on us"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] Central Executive Committee and leader of the communist faction in the State Duma:

"1994 is the year of the 50th anniversary of the Great Victory. I think, I hope, that the victors' children and grandchildren will be worthy of the heroes.

"1995 will be a turning point. If at least a semblance of democracy is preserved in Russia, then patriotic forces will come to power. They are already gaining strength in the regions.

"1995 will be a complex year. But a year of hope. Those who remember their history know that the [17th century] time of troubles in Rus ended in its seventh or eighth year. That is what the new year will be. True, we cannot rule out total collapse and provocations. But let us be courageous and united—and then it will not overcome us!"

Sergey Kalashnikov, chairman of the State Duma Committee for Labor and Social Questions:

"You can't play dirty tricks on the people nowadays. The year will be ultra-difficult, but people cannot be intimidated: Psychologically, they have mastered their feelings, and therefore they receive pessimistic predictions with optimism. They have realized that there is no point in expecting favors from the government or from abroad. They rely solely on their own forces. They remember ancient history. The first time you are robbed, you weep; the second time you are robbed, you groan; the third time you are robbed, you get hysterical; and the fourth time you are robbed, you laugh! The people can no longer be taken by surprise by anything unexpected or any provocation."

Vladimir Medvedev, leader of the State Duma "New Regional Policy" faction:

"Did you notice that the old year, 1994, was a year of political stabilization? The rallies faded away and there was no need for tanks against our own opposition. So we have begun to listen to each other, we have learned to work together. This year the State Duma laid the foundations of parliamentarianism and created the basis for a rule-of-law state.

"I am an optimist—I believe that that state will reflect the interests of ordinary citizens and give them social protection. Here, I am in solidarity with the communists. But I am not in conflict with 'Russia's Choice' when it comes to progress toward a civilized market.

"Take into account the balance of interests of political parties and ordinary citizens, and of the Russian regions; encourage the executive to implement the programs ratified by the Federal Assembly—and life will be on a normal footing.

"But I am afraid that this process will be interrupted by new elections. Some of these 'loud-mouthed' leaders

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

have again burst into eloquence, promising 'mountains of gold' and 'rivers of wine'...on the cheap. I pray to God that the people's reason may not desert them—and then they will see who is who.

"And another thing. I hope the bloody conflict in Chechnya proves to be the final solution to the contradictions between the regional and federal powers. Our faction, which represents the regions, that is, ordinary backwoods citizens, declares in their name to the executive: The regions are not asking for firepower, they need bread, jobs, and a quiet life." [passage omitted]

Gennadiy Sklyar, cochairman of the Socialist Party of Working People:

"I wish that my fellow citizens may overcome the sense of futility and of inability to influence the country's fate. Next year will be the year of emergence from universal apathy. The grapes of wrath, the energy of transformation, are ripe.

"The Socialist Party of Working People has begun to prepare for the next elections. True, it is still necessary to ensure that these elections take place."

Groups Collects Signatures for Early Elections

LD0401122895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1103 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (Interfax)—More than 1.6 million signatures in support of an all-Russia referendum on early presidential elections in April or May 1995 have been collected, Chairman of the initiators' group Tatyana Novikova told Interfax in Moscow on Wednesday.

She said that the lists with signatures had been passed to the prefect of Moscow's Southern Administrative District, where the group was registered on September 28, 1994.

The collection of signatures was initiated by supporters of the MMM joint-stock company's president Sergey Mavrodi, when he was in prison for charges that one of his companies evaded taxes.

According to the Constitution, the president of the Russian Federation shall "schedule referendum in accordance with the procedure established by the federal constitutional law." This law was approved by the State Duma in the first reading in December 1994. The current juridical norms read that the collection of any number of signatures in favor of a referendum does not mean it will be held automatically, because the final decision is to be taken by the president.

RZM Looks To Link With State Governments

MM0401090795 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jan 95 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Whole Community Getting Down to Business"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zemstvos [elective local assemblies] are being revived in Russia. Over the past year the process of the organizational and structural formation of the zemtsvo movement has been actively under way. But the main thing is that specific practical work has also emerged. And this means that zemstvos are already getting firmly on their feet. That is the opinion of Yelena Panina, chairman of the Russian Zemstvo Movement [RZM].

"We already have the first results of the work done by the education, health, economy, and legislation commissions that have been working under the RZM Council," she said. "An Analysis, Methodology, and Forecasting Center has been set up. Its main task is to elaborate a concept of zemstvo self-government, as well as links between zemstvos and the state administrative system. The center has prepared a package of documents on the creation of zemstvo or territorial communities, which we see as the primary components of zemstvo self-government. There are documents on people's assemblies, on community boards [uprava obshchiny], on community courts, and on zemstvo schools and hospitals. On this basis we intend to hold an experiment in zemstvo self-government in conjunction with the Penza, Orel, and Kaluga Oblast Administrations."

Yelena Panina announced that, with the participation of the zemstvo movement, an Institute of Electoral Systems and Parliamentarianism had started work in Moscow, and a faculty of zemstvo family doctors has been opened at the Krasnodar Medical Institute. A zemstvo manual has been drawn up, and the first zemstvo schools have already opened. So far there are not many of them, but they are the specific fruit of zemstvo members in the provinces—the flower of the local intelligentsia, who are striving to develop people's spirituality in the Russian backwoods.

Newspaper Chief Defends 'State' Media

MM0301142595 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jan 95 p 3

[Message from ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Chief Editor N. Polezhayeva under the "From the Top Person" rubric: "Status Is Official"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Of late a debate has flared up over whether state mass media should exist. Virtually all the newspapers say that they should not. Publications which were themselves "semiofficial" in the recent past are the most zealous. In our view there should be state publications. If banks, financial groups, and major production structures have their own newspapers, why should the state not have the right to inform the population via state newspapers of the usages that it has established.

A "semiofficial press" is also essential because there has always been one. Forgive me for being rude, but people's mentality requires it. People want and have the right to

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

know the state view of various events. Whether you like it or not, it would be strange if state organs did not have their own view of problems.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA is an official publication and, we hope, will remain so. At least until the 14 June law on the procedure for publishing official documents is revoked. And therein lie its merits and shortcomings. We mainly associate the newspaper's merits with this. It prints for the first time all the main documents produced by the supreme organs of authority.

In line with its status ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's credo is restraint, competence, and a considered approach in its assessments and conclusions. It is geared to stability in society and a constructive approach to resolving the most acute problems. And another factor is its guaranteed independence of any commercial structures or political groupings. That is the shape that an official state newspaper will take.

[signed] Chief Editor N. Polezhayeva

Family of Slain Journalist Receives Condolences

LD0301131095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1240 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—The Russian president's press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov expressed on Tuesday sincere condolences to the family of Vladimir Zhitarenko, a special correspondent of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper, who died in the Chechen Republic in the line of duty on January 1.

The press secretary noted in a message which was received by ITAR-TASS today and which was sent to the kith and kin of the deceased journalist that the Zhitarenko "died as a Russian soldier at the frontline while fulfilling his duty to the homeland.

"He has also fulfilled his duty to many hundred thousands of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers, both military and civil."

ITAR-TASS learned at the Information and Press Department of the Russian Defence Ministry that Zhitarenko was in battle formations of federal troops in Groznyy's northern suburb at the new year night.

Officials at the Information and Press Department believe that the 54-year-old journalist was killed by a bullet of a sharpshooter or by a stray bullet.

Zhitarenko, editor of the reports desk and member of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial board, visited Afghanistan, Chernobyl, the Dniester area, South Ossetia, Abkhazia, and Tajikistan over 30 years of his journalist work.

The main topics of his articles were devoted to military valour, loyalty to one's duties and service to the homeland. Zhitarenko was in charge of the permanent heading "soldiers at flash points" in the newspaper over his last years, getting information literally from fire and risking his life.

He was awarded the order "for personal valour" last year for his journalistic feats.

FCS Order Halts Release of Magazine

MK0401083895 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 4 Jan 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Big Scandal Erupts at the FCS over Solzhenitsyn"]

[FBIS Translated Text] MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS has learned that on New Year's Eve, by directive of Aleksandr Mikhaylov, chief of the Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS] Public Relations Center, an attachment order was levied on already-printed copies of the Russian Counterintelligence Service's magazine, SLUZHBA BEZOPASNOSTI [SECURITY SERVICE]. The magazine has been in print since summer 1992; it is published every six months.

After the latest issue of the magazine—the seventh—was printed, a proof copy was sent to Major General Mikhaylov, who is a member of the editorial board. It is said that he did not like an article about Solzhenitsyn by the FCS's Information Analysis Department. The Public Relations Center chief called the printing house and prohibited it from releasing the print run. Moreover, work on the next issue of the magazine was halted. It is quite possible that the publication could be closed. The magazine's editor-in-chief, Smelyanskiy, and most staff members have asked for permission to resign.

Military Issues

Samara Plant Tests New Space Rocket Engine

MM0201124795 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Dec 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Video report from Samara rocket engine plant by S. Zhdanova and P. Yasko]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Zhdanova] The Samara Engine-Building Association, renowned for its faultless and reliable Soyuz launcher first- and second-stage engines, has embarked on the implementation of its part of the "Rus" National Space Program.

Designers' original ideas have been embodied in a modernized engine which can be produced without substantial changes to production technology. It will also save jobs. Incidentally, these factors taken together will enable the enterprise to win a competition and obtain a state order. Tests at the facility amid the Zhiguli Mountains stunned me and gave me the impression that the end of the world had come. But only me.

[40-second passage omitted—brief interview with A. Anenkov, director of a branch of the Samara Engine

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Building Plant named for Frunze, who says that the test went according to the book apart from the presence of a woman journalist; S. Oleksiyko, deputy director general of the Samara plant, who says that the test has shown that the plant will have work for another two to three decades; G. Borzenko, deputy chief designer, says: If only there were financial support from superior bodies, in particular the Russian Space Agency]

Federal Assembly

Gaydar: 'Serious Military Catastrophe' in Chechnya

LD0301130595 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Jan 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Here is material on a sitting of the Russia's Choice faction in the State Duma.

[T. Orlova] At today's sitting of the Russia's Choice faction in the State Duma deputies discussed information received from Chechnya, from their colleagues who were there. Faction leader Yegor Gaydar said at a news conference, which was held when the sitting ended:

[Begin Gaydar recording] The situation that is depicted from that information bears witness to huge losses by the Russian Armed Forces and that what is happening in Groznyy is a serious military catastrophe. In our view, events there bears witness once again to the adventurist nature of the chosen course of a military solution to the problem and at the same time sharply exacerbate the threat of an authoritarian regime being formed in Russia. Events...[end recording]

[Orlova] We now have two paths, Gaydar stressed further, to return to the path of common sense and sit down at the negotiating table or to continue large-scale military actions.

Gaydar said that for its part, the Russia's Choice faction would strive to have a session of the State Duma convened urgently. The faction proposes that deputies should discuss a bill on the status of those participating in the Chechen conflict, a conflict that does not fit into the framework of any of the laws existing in Russia. Gaydar said that apart from that it proposed that parliamentary hearings should be heard on Chechnya in order to expose all those who were responsible for the military operations carried out there. [video shows Gaydar and two others seated at long table]

Federation Council Approves Laws, Rejects Others

MM0301162595 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Dec 94 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "At the Federation Council"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Federation Council has approved the following federal laws—"On the Russian Federation's State Foreign Loans and State Credits Granted by the Russian Federation to Foreign States, Their Corporate Bodies, and International Organizations" and "On the Russian Federation's International Treaties."

The Federation Council has decreed that the federal law "On the Budget of the Federal Compulsory Medical Insurance Fund in 1994" shall be rejected in view of the unacceptability of some of its provisions, and the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma shall be instructed to amend Article 4 of the rejected federal law.

The Federation Council also decreed that the federal law "On the Budget of the Russian Federation Federal Roads Fund in 1994" be rejected in its entirety.

Regional Affairs

ITAR-TASS Carries Round-Up of Chechen Developments

LD0401145895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1420 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—The press service of the Russian government said on Wednesday that the situation in the break-away republic of Chechnya remained highly volatile and was "changing radically."

"The number of clashes has decreased and their intensity lessened. Illegal armed formations operate, as a rule, in small groups and mainly in the centre of the city. Federal troops continue operations to clear Groznyy of commandos and to restore constitutional law and order," the press service said.

Earlier today, the government press service quoted Sultan Geliskhanov, chief of the Chechen security service, as telling the Federal Counterintelligence Service (FSK) that he was ready to stand up to Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev and to use two battalions under his command for the purpose. In reply, it was suggested that he confirm his readiness with practical actions.

The press service also said that Chechen sources had been circulating reports, the meaning of which boiled down to the following: "Dudayev is no longer in Chechnya or elsewhere".

Meanwhile, the Glasnost protection fund released a report about casualties among journalists in Chechnya. Fund expert Oleg Panfilov said that 78 incidents involving journalists had occurred in the zone of the Chechen conflict since December 1.

Two journalists—correspondent of the Russian military daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Vladimir Zhitarenko and American freelance photographer Cynthia Elbaum—were killed and eight reporters wounded.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

In addition, there have been facts of fire being deliberately opened on journalists by units of the Interior and Defence Ministries. Photo and video films have been confiscated, he said. On January 1, 1995, army units detained and held for 24 hours a group of reporters of the British Broadcasting Corporation, Panfilov said. There is a large number of cases when journalists have been denied information, he added.

Meanwhile, a watchdog commission set up by the Russian president's decree started work in the Chechen Republic on Wednesday. The commission includes representatives of the president's administration and both houses of parliament.

At the same time, deputy speaker of the State Duma Valentin Kovalev, chairman of the provisional commission monitoring the observance of constitutional rights and freedoms, told a news conference in Moscow on Wednesday that Russian human rights commissioner Sergey Kovalev had not provided the State Duma with "any specific materials about human rights violations in Chechnya."

Chechen Security Chief Abandons Dudayev

LD0401132595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1312 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—The press service of the Russian Government faxed to ITAR-TASS on Wednesday the following report:

According to the leadership of the Federal Counterintelligence Service (FSK) in Groznyy, chief of the Chechen security service Sultan Geliskhanov addressed FSK leaders last night. He declared he was ready to oppose Dudayev and to use two battalions under his command for the purpose. In answer it was suggested that he con.. m his declaration by practical moves.

According to military intelligence, Chechen sources spread the information that "Dudayev is no more—either in Chechnya or anywhere else".

Smirnyagin Assesses Chechnya Situation

LD0401115495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1103 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (INTERFAX)—In an interview with Interfax on Tuesday member of the presidential council Leonid Smirnyagin declared that "there were no blitzkrieg in Chechnya."

In his words, the operation aimed at seizure of Groznyy, which is being accompanied by "immense losses," testifies to the fact that its leaders "have overestimated their own forces and have underestimated the armed might of Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev."

"Dudayev's defensive potential has sharply increased from early December not only at the expense of replenishment of his detachments by foreign professional mercenaries but also due to the massed bombardment of Groznyy by the Russian aviation," Smirnyagin said. "Resistance of the bandit formations has transformed into a wide front," he believes.

Smirnyagin asserts that seizure of Groznyy will not put an end to this conflict but "will distance prospects of its solution." He said that it is impossible "to establish and to maintain martial law in Chechnya." He is in favor of resuming the negotiation process to settle the conflict by peaceful means.

Smirnyagin believes that the people who were delegated by the Security Council to negotiate with Groznyy have demonstrated neither diplomatic talent no any serious strive for a dialogue. "If Dudayev is really ready to negotiate, as he declared, then Moscow should take advantage of this move and start a dialogue not taking into account demands to recognize Chechnya as part of Russia and demands on urgent disarmament," Smirnyagin believes.

According to Smirnyagin, it is necessary to speak about creation "of premises to hold free democratic elections in Chechnya and to form legitimate power bodies in the republic" at the negotiations with Dudayev.

In his words, the peculiarity of the present situation "demands that we should search for non-standard recipes to solve the above mentioned problems including those which are not provided by the Constitution." Among possible variants Smirnyagin mentioned a referendum on Chechnya's further staying within the Russian Federation. (endall) 041103 hayman/px 04/1156

Attempts Made To Restore Chechnya Power Sector

MM0301115795 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Russian Federation Ministry of Fuel and Energy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Chechnya is literally in the dark today," Nikolay Cheremisin, deputy chief of department of the "Unified Energy System" Russian Joint-Stock Company. "Only one of the four heat and electric power stations on its territory is working, and that with a load of just 40 megawatts against a total capacity of 489 megawatts. Two of the heat and electric power stations are standing idle for lack of personnel: All the specialists who serviced the equipment have left. The fourth station—a thermal power plant—has ground to a halt because there is no consumer demand for the heat.

"We are in constant contact with controllers at the Groznyy power department [Grozenergo]. A. Balayants, deputy general director of 'Yuzhenergo,' has been sent to Groznyy to give them operational assistance and to coordinate work to restore the devastated power sector. An operations staff charged with directing the restoration of Chechnya's power facilities has begun to function."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

State of Emergency in N. Ossetia Extended Until 2 Feb

LD0201105995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1034 GMT 2 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vladikavkaz January 2 TASS—North Ossetian interior minister, Major-General Georgiy Kantemirov, told ITAR-TASS that no incidents had been reported in four settlements of the Prigorodnyy region, where refugee are returning, since the beginning of the new year. A total of 200 Ingush families have already returned to their homes. The overall number of Ingush people currently residing in the republic is over 12,000, Kantemirov said.

Brief reports made by military sources continue to arrive from the area of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict where a state of emergency will remain in effect until February 2. Units of the Russian Army subordinate to the temporary administration jointly with local law enforcement bodies are keeping the situation in the region under control.

The North Ossetian interior minister said that conditions for lifting the state of emergency have not been created yet. The situation is not an easy one with the problem of refugee return not completely settled yet. According to the minister, developments in the neighboring Chechen Republic have negatively affected the situation in the area. Russian troops which are maintaining a state of emergency are the only guarantor of security in the region, Kantemirov said.

An extensive federal programme "to undo the Chechen knot" is likely to positively affect the criminal situation in the Northern Caucasus and is expected to promote the improvement of Ossetian- Ingush relations, the minister said. He comes out for complete disarmament of illegal formations not only in the Caucasus, but on the entire territory of Russia.

North Ossetian President Urges Peace in Caucasus

LD0301140295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1343 GMT 3 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vladikavkaz January 3 TASS—North Ossetian President Akhsarbek Galazov issued on Tuesday a statement in connection with the events in the Chechen Republic. "Illegal armed units and population should fully disarm in the Caucasus and all over Russian territory. People in the Caucasus are sick and tired of war and confrontation. Earth awaits peaceful constructive work," the statement says.

"I am firmly convinced that it is precisely Russian President Boris Yeltsin who is capable of advancing a peace initiative for the settlement of the conflict in Chechnya. I cannot visualise the Caucasus without Russia and Russia without the Caucasus," the statement says.

The Caucasus formed over centuries, not in communist decades. The Caucasus is a single political, economic and cultural organism, the president of North Ossetia believes. To split the Caucasus means to inflict irreparable damage to each ethnic group inhabiting the Caucasus, the statement says.

Dudayev Cited on Russian Losses

LD0301135295 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1300 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During the assault on Groznyy, Russian forces lost more than 150 vehicles and pieces of armor, the losses amount to hundreds of dead, Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev announced in an open letter to Prime Minister Chernomyrdin. Dudayev said remnants of assault forces numbering several hundred men were surrounded by home guard.

Yeltsin Aide: Chechen Political Settlement Being Drafted

LD0301140195 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1330 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A special report on a political settlement in Chechnya is being drawn up for the president, presidential chief of staff Sergey Filatov has said.

Chechen Spokesman Warns of Growing Anti-Russian Feelings

LD0401092795 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 4 Jan 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Mutali Toboyev, spokesman for the information department of the Chechen Republic, told an INTERFAX correspondent on Tuesday [3 January] that an outbreak of anti-Russian feelings is possible in Chechnya. He said this could be triggered by misinformation on the situation in Groznyy disseminated by Russian federal bodies.

According to the INTERFAX correspondent, Russian journalists find in virtually impossible to work in Groznyy, because they are being blamed for misinformation received by Russian mass media from the Chechen capital.

Head of Duma Security Committee Fears Escalating Separatism

LD0301191895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1749 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, 3 Jan (INTERFAX)—The military campaign in Chechnya will lead to escalating separatist trends and further aggravated relations between the center and items of the federation, in the first place with the North Caucasus. This statement was

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

made by the chairman of the State Duma committee for security, Viktor Ilyukhin (Communist faction), in an interview with Interfax Tuesday [3 January].

According to Ilyukhin, "though initially the political goals were vice versa—to protect Russia's unity, the effect proved counterproductive."

"The enormous mistakes and losses committed during the Chechnya operation will give their bloody and poisonous fruits in future and will inevitably result in regions' estrangement from the central authorities," he added.

Ilyukhin is convinced that the tragedy in Chechnya was at the same time a personal tragedy of Russian President Boris Yeltsin which will bring closer "the logical end to his political career as the destroyer of the Soviet Union and that of Russia."

Duma Representative Rejects Official Line on Chechnya

MM0201125795 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Dec 94 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Returning From Burning City"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 30 Dec—State Duma Deputy Leonid Petrovskiy, who has just returned from Groznyy, has called for an immediate cessation of hostilities in Chechnya. He met today with journalists in the lower house of parliament.

Leonid Petrovskiy talked about the work being done in Groznyy by a group of State Duma deputies headed by Sergey Kovalev, the Russian Federation human rights official. L. Petrovskiy accused the country's leadership of "directly destroying Russian statehood" and called Dzhokhar Dudayev a "Chechen romantic."

The deputy cast doubt on yesterday's statement by Pavel Grachev at a press conference in Mozdok that the Army understands the goals and tasks of its mission in the Chechen Republic.

L. Petrovskiy claimed that temporary hospitals are completely lacking in medicines, and advocated the creation under combat conditions of special sectors which would not be shelled and could thus be used to organize field hospitals.

Kovalev: Duma To Increase Activity To Stop Chechen War

LD0401154995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1514 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ruslan Maisigov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nazran January 4 TASS—Russian Human Rights Commissioner Sergey Kovalev said on Wednesday that "combat activities are developing not in the Russian troops' favour" in Chechnya.

Meeting journalists after his talks with the leaders of Ingushetia, a Russian republic bordering on Chechnya, Kovalev said that State Duma deputies will "step up their activity in order to stop the war."

Kovalev arrived in Nazran, capital of Ingushetia, from Groznyy earlier today.

Additional Forces Sent To Shore Up Southern Borders

LD0301192795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1749 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, 3 Jan (INTERFAX)—The Caucasian border district has continued taking measures to prevent militants, arms and narcotics from penetrating into Chechnya.

The Federal Border Service press center told Interfax Tuesday that additional air forces and coastal guards had been engaged over the recent days in guarding Russia's southern border and the administrative borders of Chechnya.

The guard of the borders was reinforced in close interaction with Russian interior troops, customs and immigration services.

Together with their Georgian colleagues, units of the Caucasian district take measures to better guard the Russian-Georgian border. All vessels staying in the Russian territorial waters are subject to search.

Report Says 'Hundreds' of Russians Dying in Groznyy

LD0301120695 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Jan 95

[Video report by correspondent A. Samoletov in Groznyy on 2 January; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer Dmitriy Borisov] I have just been told that the material from our correspondent from the Chechen Republic is ready to go on the air. Here it is.

[Samoletov] Fighting has been under way in Groznyy since this morning. Shots can be heard throughout the whole town.

According to eyewitness reports, the railway station has been completely destroyed. Fighting is continuing in the vicinity of the railway. The road near the bus station is now being fired upon.

The armed groupings encountered by us on the roads are travelling in vehicles going in the opposite direction and leaving the town so fighters who are being disarmed in Groznyy by such serious Russian means are simply leaving the town.

The Zavodksoy Rayon, where the oil refinery is situated, is also being fired upon.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Unidentified man] Around the presidential palace we saw with our own eyes a great many dead, burned-out tanks and APCs [armored personnel carriers], bodies of Russian soldiers. It is a monstrous lie that federal troops, having entered Groznyy, are in control, that they are already beginning to put out fires in the oil storage tanks and so forth when, in actual fact, fighting has been under way throughout the entire day and hundreds of Russian soldiers are dying.

Ingush Vice President Says Chechen Bombing Continues

LD0401091795 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 0800 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian aircraft are continuing to bomb Chechen territory, the vice president of Ingushetia told our radio station.

Presidential Supervision Commission Begins Work

LD0401092895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0827 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Mikhail Karlov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mozdok, 4 Jan—The supervision commission [nablyudatelnaya komissiya] set up under an edict by the Russian president began work in the Chechen Republic today. Members of the commission—Anatoliy Dolgolaptev, a deputy chairman of the Federation Council, Vasiliy Tarasenko, chairman of the Committee on the Federation, Federation Treaty, and Regional Policy, and retired Colonel General Yuriy Rodionov, a State Duma deputy—arrived in Mozdok on Tuesday.

At a news conference that took place in Mozdok today, Dolgolaptev told journalists that this was the first commission "with official powers from the president, the Federation Council, and State Duma." He said that the commission's main task was to establish an objective picture of the situation in Chechnya and to defend the rights of the civilian population and servicemen in Chechnya.

Speaking at the news conference, Rodionov said that "the actions of the Russian troops in Chechnya are justified from the legal point of view." He also denied reports by some mass media that an ecological disaster was possible in the Chechen Republic as a result of poisonous substances getting into the atmosphere.

Warplanes, Combat Helicopters Mount Strikes in Groznyy

LD0401100195 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian troops are preparing for another huge assault on Groznyy, Boris Agapov, vice president of Ingushetia, said in a telephone conversation with Sergey Yushenkov, chairman of the Duma Defense Committee.

Agapov thinks that the mistakes made in the two previous operations will be taken into account in the third, and evidently decisive storming, and that active use will be made of infantry and airborne assault units.

According to information from the Ingush vice president, fresh airborne assault units are being redeployed from Beslan right to the conflict area.

Boris Agapov also told Sergey Yushenkov that during a meeting in Cheboksary tomorrow between leaders of the republics belonging to the Federation, President Aushev will propose they go to Nazran to study the situation.

I will remind you that yesterday, the leadership of Ingushetia reported that there had been air strikes on the Ingush village of Arshty. The Ingush vice president told our radio station today that strikes on Ingush territory are not being repeated—unlike in Chechnya:

[Begin Agapov recording] Strikes are continuing to be made on the territory of the Chechen Republic, on populated areas of the Chechen Republic, on all areas, not only on Groznyy and on its surrounding areas, both by fighter bombers and combat helicopters. [end recording]

Not only mobile military field hospitals but also civilian medical institutions are giving aid to Groznyy's casualties, Russia's Deputy Health Minister Nikolay Vagonov, maintains:

[Begin Vaganov recording] Even although military actions are continung in Groznyy, we have information that the republican hospital, the accident and emergency hospital, the military hospital—and strange though it may seem, the maternity hospital is still receiving mothers-to-be and children are continuing to be born—are continuing to work as before.

Our specialized teams which have been set up in many oblasts near Moscow are ready to leave at the drop of a hat to give medical assistance in Groznyy as soon as the situation returns to normal. The teams are on full combat alert. [end recording]

Government Troops Extending Control

LD0401094995 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Over the past 24 hours, subunits of the federal forces succeeded in extending the districts under their control in central Groznyy. On the whole, the situation in and around the Chechen capital remained tense, the Russian Government press service reported. However, Ingushetia Vice President Boris Agapov said that it was premature to talk of the Russian forces taking control of central Groznyy.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Russian Forces Control Parts of Groznyy

LD0401103095 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 1000 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Fresh forces are continuing to arrive in Groznyy to reinforce Russian subunits after the failed New Year's Eve storming of the Chechen capital.

Ingush Vice President Agapov told Sergey Yushenkov, chairman of the Duma Defense Committee, that a new assault is planned for 5-6 January.

Russian troops now control the northern part of the city and the railway station in Groznyy.

Yesterday there were spontaneous clashes with Chechen fighters, and Russian subunits are still not able to approach the presidential palace on Freedom Square.

The final note of yesterday's fighting was the bombing of the central part of the city by Russian planes where, according to INTERFAX information, many houses have been destroyed.

Yegorov Says Russian Troops Should Take Groznyy 5 Jan

LD0401150595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1447 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Mikhail Karlov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mozdok (North Ossetia), 4 Jan—"On 5 January, Russian troops should take Groznyy without any fighting," Nikolay Yegorov, vice premier of the government of Russia, said at a news conference in Mozdok. He also said that "the legitimate government of Chechnya" should be rebased in Groznyy at the same time as troops are brought in."

Russia Airlifting Well-Trained Reinforcements To Chechnya

LD0401094895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0926 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Belousov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Murmansk January 4 TASS—Russia is airlifting well-trained reinforcements to rebel Chechnya and a ground force unit, experienced in peacekeeping operations, was sent to the southern republic from the northern Kola peninsula, TASS was told on Wednesday [4 January] by well-informed sources in the administration of the northern city of Murmansk.

Besides, 200 border guards are to depart for Chechnya shortly, the source said and added that a marine battalion of the Northern Fleet is ready to follow suit.

Reports from Chechen capital Groznyy indicated that unexperienced first-year recruits were sent to storm the rebel city. "We do not want that young and unprepared soldiers recruited from our region participate in the war in the Caucasus", head of the Murmansk administration Yevgeniy Komarov told TASS. "But we understand that someone has to restore order in the Chechen Republic which is an integral part of Russia. The country may collapse without order", he added.

Migration Service Official Comments on Chechnya Refugees

LD0401111695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1100 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Liliya Kuznetsova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Over 130,000 people have fled Chechnya, Sergey Solntsev, head of the press service of Russia's Federal Migration Service, told ITAR-TASS on Wednesday [4 January].

As many as 7,136 refugees from the area of the conflict turned to the migration services for relief in the past day, he said. As many as 55,688 refugees have been registered by the migration services from December 8. But the actual number of people who fled the area of hostilities is twice as big, Solntsev said.

Such estimates are based on the data supplied to the Federal Migration Service by chiefs of local administrations. They believe that many refugees do not turn for assistance to official services. A considerable number of refugees found shelter with relatives and friends. For instance, over 35 thousand refugees from Groznyy and nearby areas now stay in Nadterechny district of the Chechen Republic.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

International Affairs

Kuchma on Russian Relations, NATO, Economy

AU0301180895 Munich FOCUS in German 2 Jan 95 pp 150-151

[Interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma by G. Mrozek and N. Aljakina; place and date not given: "There Are Too Many Plots"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [FOCUS] Russia has still not recognized Ukraine's territorial integrity. In addition, border problems and the issues of dual citizenship and the Black Sea Fleet remain open. When will Boris Yeltsin and yourself sign the Ukrainian-Russian treaty?

[Kuchma] Much to my regret, the negotiations have been protracted for years—by the Russian side.

[FOCUS] Has the situation deteriorated as a result of the Chechen conflict?

[Kuchma] Various political forces in Russia are having an influence on the negotiations. Yeltsin's positions and those of his circle are often not identical. Even though Boris Nikolayevich and I during the CIS summit agreed in detail on how to solve two problems, these two problems are still being brought up. This is not really conducive to normal relations. The events in Chechnya of course supersede this.

[FOCUS] Why did you not permit Russia to deploy naval infantry from the Crimea in Chechnya?

[Kuchma] Russia has enough armed forces of its own. The Black Sea Fleet belongs to both countries. However, Chechnya is an internal Russian affair, and not a Ukrainian affair.

[FOCUS] In view of the Russian invasion of the Caucasus, concerns in the world about a return of the Russian empire are growing. Does this burden Ukraine's domestic policy?

[Kuchma] When Russia is shaken a little, Ukraine is shaken much more. I had a telephone conversation with Boris Nikolayevich yesterday and told him clearly that there are opportunities for a peaceful solution. I would like to believe that he is honestly trying to find a way out.

[FOCUS] And if he does not?

[Kuchma] Many politicians are transferring the Chechen conflict to Crimea, which is a permanent sore spot. Hopefully, Boris Nikolayevich and I can sign the treaty as soon as possible, in order to put an end to all the current plots. If the events in Chechnya did not exist, it would virtually already have happened.

[FOCUS] You said after your election that Ukraine's foreign policy would be corrected in the direction of Russia. Should you activate your policy rather toward the West now?

[Kuchma] I did not say that there would be a correction in the direction of Russia; I spoke about a correction of our whole foreign policy. Ukraine will always have to proceed from its own national interests. Russia is indeed our strategic partner. I do not move away from this opinion. Without normal economic and good neighborly relations, Ukraine does not have a future. I am very happy that people in Europe understand this.

[FOCUS] So Ukraine will always stand between NATO and Russia?

[Kuchma] The Budapest summit has shown that, for heaven's sake, there can be no two camps, no Berlin Wall dividing Europe. However, if developments take a revolutionary course, we will possibly reach such a state of affairs. If all of Eastern Europe is admitted into NATO, Russia can never agree to NATO coming closer to its territory. What is Ukraine's role? Is it a bridge or a sanitary cordon? We have not joined the military-political bloc of the CIS, nor gone to NATO.

[FOCUS] However, you do intend to increase military cooperation with NATO member Germany, to the annoyance of Moscow....

[Kuchma] No country can have the right of veto, all the more so since these processes are quite normal. Wherever I am I always say the foremost and most important thing is that any country's relations with Ukraine should not go through the prism of relations with Russia—according to the motto that Russia comes first, and then one should not forget Ukraine.

[FOCUS] Does the friendship between Kohl and Yeltsin enhance this effect?

[Kuchma] I had a very good talk with Chancellor Kohl. He stressed his position that Russia is Russia, and Ukraine is Ukraine. I am glad he said this. Our main partner in Europe should be Germany—in many respects.

[FOCUS] But Ukraine depends on Russian oil and gas....

[Kuchma] Our factories are out of operation. Our homes are cold. Our balance of payments remains negative. How to pay for goods? We are working together with the IMF, actively helping to make sure that Europe does not remain indifferent. There are some difficulties with Russia but I believe that we will solve the problems. It is for us a matter of survival.

[FOCUS] Is this so, among other things, because the economic crisis increases the tensions between eastern and western Ukraine?

[Kuchma] I would not see it in this way. There is of course an historical difference—the west under the influence of Austria-Hungary and Poland, and the east under the influence of Russia. However, the main problem today is the energy crisis, which brings everything else in its wake. The closing-down of factories is nothing to do with the east-west conflict.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[FOCUS] You are still very popular....

[Kuchma] Popularity is fickle, like women. Strictly speaking, the painful process that I must survive is still in the offing. I know that Ukraine has a payments deficit of $5 billion. A structural perestroyka of the whole industrial sector is unavoidable. This means that unprofitable companies must be closed down.

[FOCUS] To what extent will the credit help that Ukraine will be getting from the IMF and the G-7 at the end of the year?

[Kuchma] One billion dollars does not solve anything in our country. We have our experiences in this respect. Most of the credits are eaten up by us. I am as afraid of them as of fire. Every credit must be directed at specific programs. This is the most important thing. We need investment as the body needs blood—not humanitarian aid, but investment in the form of new technologies.

[FOCUS] What are you doing to attract foreign capital?

[Kuchma] We are currently building our whole infrastructure, so that everyone coming to Ukraine knows whom to contact. Today everyone loses all interest in cooperation if he does not find his way through the bureaucracy.

[FOCUS] Nonetheless, without favorable tax rates and the possibility to transfer profits, no one would be interested anyway.

[Kuchma] Exactly. Private investors must feel a little better in our country than they do at home. They should not have to worry that the Reds could come tomorrow and begin expropriations. However, the changes that have been seriously initiated in Ukraine are irreversible.

[FOCUS] The former communists have considerable influence in the Supreme Soviet.

[Kuchma] If the economic situation deteriorates, the return of the Reds is possible. The older generation is longing for the Brezhnev era to come back, when one could at least buy a piece of bread for one's old-age pension.

[FOCUS] Does this mean that there will be no radical reforms?

[Kuchma] There are two basic models in the world. The U.S. purely monetarist model and the German model: In addition to monetarist methods, one should do a tightrope act on a knife's edge and support the producers. I like the German model.

[FOCUS] How is that supposed to work?

[Kuchma] It is already being done, but not in the way I would prefer. Too many want to turn the wheel. Under the old constitution, all power rested with the soviets. But at that time, we had a one-party system with a dictator at the top. Today we have it wishy-washy. No one really governs. That is why I brought in a draft bill that envisages the division of power. The regional soviets are to be dissolved.

[FOCUS] What happens if the Supreme Soviet does not agree to your draft bill?

[Kuchma] A referendum.

[FOCUS] Do you not fear a coup?

[Kuchma] No. I am absolutely sure. It is obvious that Ukraine is facing hard times. However, we will survive them.

KUN Group Gives 'Moral' Support in Chechnya

LD0201123695 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1150 GMT 2 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no date as received]—A representative delegation from the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists [KUN], led by members of its main leadership—Mariya Bazelyuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc, and Mykhaylo Ratushnyy, people's deputy of Ukraine—are on a visit to the Chechen Republic of Ichkeriya. The purpose of the visit is to discuss issues of Chechnya's political situation, to familiarize themselves with the course of military actions, and to search for ways of handing over medical and humanitarian aid, collected in Ukraine by the efforts of KUN members. UNIAN learned this at the KUN secretariat on 1 January.

The KUN and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists [OUN] have also circulated a statement on participation in the Chechen people's struggle against the "Moscow aggressor" only in the form of moral and political support, collection of humanitarian aid for Chechnya, and "the organization of political pressure by peoples of the world on Russia's Government."

The statement notes that the reason for its appearance was the news conference by leaders of the Russian Federation's power- wielding structures on the course of latest events in Chechnya, broadcast by the "Ostankino" television company, particularly the statement by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev on the participation of "Banderites" in military actions on the side of the Chechen people.

"OUN and KUN note the provocative essence of such statements, on the whole inherent in Russian imperialism"—the statement says.

National Affairs

Kuchma Adviser Views Draft Power Bill

WS0401090195 Kiev KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 27 Dec 94 p 3

[Interview with Dmytro Vydrin, adviser to Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma for interior policy issues, by

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Maryana Oliynyk; place and date not given: "We Found Ourselves in a Trap of History Trying To Combine the System of Soviets With Presidential Power"]

[FBIS Translated Text] KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI has asked Dmytro Vydrin, presidential adviser for interior policy issues, to share with our readers his viewpoint on the draft bill "On state power and local self-government."

[Vydrin] I think that this draft bill is the first step toward the organization of power in Ukraine. The bill on power, in principle, is aimed at taking away part of the power which has been unclaimed, misused, or misorganized, from those who have unclaimed, misused, or misorganized it. We have been living for 70 years with a delusion that power can be taken away from someone. Do you remember that famous phrase which has been introduced to all textbooks: "Power is not given for free—it has to be won"? In fact, power cannot be given or taken. True power should be created, and as such it is much more valuable. Americans like to compare power with a glove: On one person's hand it is too loose, on another—it tears at the seams. Therefore, power should be made according to one's own measurements. I dream of Ukraine's president attaining such a level.

[Oliynyk] You have in mind, namely, presidential power...

[Vydrin] Right. Power should correspond to place, time, circumstances, national mentality, and so on. It is completely clear to me that given this very difficult situation, we can overcome it only with the help of presidential power. Parliamentary power is effective only in a civic society—with developed parties, perfect forms of civic control over all state spheres, powerful social funds, independent information media, and strong analytical institutes. We have nothing of the kind for the time being. Having tried to combine the system of Soviets with presidential power, we found ourselves in a trap of history. Such a model, artificially created by Gorbachev, imaginary and completely inoperative, which has been duplicated in all states created after the breakup of the Soviet Union, is a mechanism completely unfit for adopting quick and competent decisions. Meanwhile, such decisions are the only things capable of saving us.

[Oliynyk] One of the arguments by opponents of the bill on power, however, maintains that its implementation may lead to a one- man dictatorship. Do you agree with this?

[Vydrin] I absolutely disagree. Presidential power presupposes not the lack of other branches of power, but, quite the opposite, their presence. The president himself is interested in not provoking a temptation to widen his powers unlimitedly, since this will primarily impact on the president. The proposed draft bill sets counterbalances to this: They proceed from the awareness on the part of the president and his team that the burden of responsibility must be shared with someone. There is no desire to achieve absolute power; on the contrary, there is a precaution to not accidentally take more power than is needed, than is possible to master intellectually, financially, in accordance with resources, and so on.

In addition, paradoxical as it may seem, presidential power under certain circumstances may be much closer to the people than parliamentary power. Such circumstances arose, for example, in the United States during the 1930's. At that time, Theodore Roosevelt—the U.S. president who, incidentally, stayed at the Olympus of power longer than any other president—tried for the first time to build a state not "for the people," but together with the people. This was expressed in his famous "fireside chats." Once a week he would sit with a radio microphone at the fireside, begin with his famous words "My friends!," and tell the people what he was going to do next, and how. Plus, he was always sensitive to reactions from his listeners, to their letters and telephone calls.

By now, we also have a chance to begin creating such a state.

[Oliynyk] Do you think that the law on power may contribute to this?

[Vydrin] One can find a lot of flaws in this law. But there are no perfect laws. In principle, one may begin with any law. The main thing is that this law must initiate some prospective and positive tendencies, become an impulse to a large positive process.

[Oliynyk] In other words, in this case the content of a draft bill is not as important as the very fact of its appearance?

[Vydrin] It is possible to "talk into nonsense" any document. In my opinion, however, this is the first political act in the last four years which has gotten things moving.

[Oliynyk] If parliament fails to adopt the bill on power, the president, according to his own words, will appeal to the people. In your opinion, what results may be expected from a referendum on this matter?

[Vydrin] I am assured that this referendum will be won by the president. The people are tired of anarchy and lack of willpower.

[Oliynyk] Another scenario: This law is adopted by the parliament in the first reading. Is there no danger that, by way of all sorts of settlements and compromises, the essence of the law may be erased?

[Vydrin] This is the most interesting aspect. It is better for this law to be rejected than to be adopted in the first reading and subjugated to castration. Frankly speaking, I supported a more radical version of this draft law—I supported the abolishment of the post of prime minister, wanted to say good-bye to the system of Soviets not only

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

formally, but also actually, and so on. Therefore, it is necessary to [illegible] at least the adoption of the version that we have now.

Centrist Cherep Seen as Rival to Deputy Speaker

WS0401095995 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0456 GMT 4 Jan 95

["Special to INTELNEWS" by Oksana Hasiuk]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Jan. 3— A leading candidate among the national-democrats and centrists hoping to replace Parliament Speaker Oleksandr Moroz is indicating that he is willing to compromise and accept an offer for the deputy speaker position instead.

"I have enough influence among deputies and enough force to be speaker, but I do not want to dismantle our Parliament from the inside," Center faction representative Valeriy Cherep told INTELNEWS.

Moroz, apparently trying to forestall such an eventuality, said in an interview last week with KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI that he wanted to see Cherep as Deputy Speaker.

Cherep, who has been working in Parliament for 15 years, is a presidium member and chairman of the Major Industrial Branches Committee.

A statement by representatives of six parliamentary factions expressing a lack of confidence in Moroz was signed two weeks ago. The signatories to the document are Serhiy Sobolyev, leader of the Reforms group, Oleksandr Korpov, leader of Interregional Deputy Group, Anton Buteyko from the Center Faction, Volodymyr Yavorivsky from Statehood faction, Oleksander Korzh, Unity faction chief, and Vyacheslav Chornovil, Rukh faction leader.

The move to displace Moroz may also be weakening due to the disunity of the political factions that initiated it. Deputies from the Interregional Deputy Group have agreed to help national-democrats displace the Socialist Moroz only if they would support Karpov, their own leader, in his bid for the post.

"The idea to replace Moroz and the Presidium is not dead. We are awaiting an appropriate time to initiate it," Mykola Karnaukh a non-partisan deputy closely tied to the Center faction, told INTELNEWS.

Kuchma Issues Privatization Edict

LD0301172395 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1315 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no date as received]—A Ukrainian presidential decree "On Measures To Speed up the Process of Small-Scale Privatization in Ukraine" was approved on 2 January. It states that facilities subject to small-scale privatization that are in state ownership (including enterprises' assets and their structural subdivisions transferred to a leasing arrangement) and which, according to the state privatization program, have been included in Group A, will be privatized in 1995.

The individual facilities subject to small-scale privatization are: Structural subdivisions of enterprises whose status does not conform to current legislation (in the process of commercialization); enterprises that form part of associations, whose legal status does not conform to current legislation; and structural subdivisions (units) of other enterprises that could be separated into independent enterprises, including those that sell analogous or mutually exchangeable types of commodities (works, services). The decree obliges bodies of state executive power to ensure the completion of small-scale privatization in Ukraine in 1995.

Within a month, the State Property Fund of Ukraine, its regional branches and representatives in rayons and towns are to compile lists of facilities subject to small-scale privatization. The state privatization bodies are instructed to approve within a month lists of facilities that are in general state ownership and subject to privatization in accordance with this decree.

It is envisaged that an organization of leaseholders and a purchasers' society formed by workers of the respective leased enterprise which is designated as a separate privatization facility are entitled to privatize a leased property and its parts (with regard to structural subdivisions) by purchasing them by 1 June 1995. In addition, the rental agreement pertaining to the premises concluded on the day of privatization will remain in force until the end of the period.

The decree establishes that the price of the small-scale privatization facility and the initial price when these facilities are being sold at auction or by means of a contest shall be determined according to a method of assessing the value of privatization facilities which the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine must approve. Until 1 June 1995, the selling price of the state property of leased enterprises (apart from premises) shall be set without calculating its potential profitability. When the property is being privatized through a right to purchase, the selling price of premises that contain small-scale privatization facilities shall be determined by an expert valuation whose procedure is established by the State Property Fund of Ukraine.

Small-scale privatization facilities will be purchased by privatization certificates, provided they belong to members of the labor collective of the relevant facility, and by monetary means.

Under this decree, the Cabinet of Ministers is to approve within two months a regulation on the joint use and servicing of buildings, structures, and premises, including attached structures, where privatized small-scale privatization facilities are located. In addition, when the draft state budget of Ukraine is elaborated for 1995, it should envisage that the resources received by

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the relevant privatization funds outside the budget as a result of the privatization of small-scale privatization facilities, with the exception of outgoings on carrying out privatization, are included as revenues in local government budgets. They will be directed at supporting social development programs and post-privatization support for privatized facilities. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine should also foresee the possibility of using 1 percent of the funds for encouraging workers of state privatization bodies to carry out small-scale privatization within the established period.

Viktor Pynzenyk, first deputy prime minister of Ukraine, has been entrusted with the task of ensuring the implementation of this decree.

Economy Minister Views Situation, Reform

WS0401111595 Kiev URYADOVVY KURYER in Ukrainian 15 Dec 95 p 4

[Article by Minister of Economy Roman Shpek: "Inevitability of Reform"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A couple of days ago, Ukraine's Minister of Economy Roman Shpek became the winner of the annual prize awarded by Inko Bank. This, in particular, was done to acknowledge his personal contribution in removing the barriers that used to exist between Ukraine and international financial organizations. Roman Shpek touches upon that issue in his article, which we offer here for our readers' attention. The article, however, places the main emphasis on the resolution of domestic economic problems and on the fact that Ukraine can and should overcome the current hardships and embark on the road of all-human development.

The socioeconomic situation in Ukraine remains unstable and is characterized by:
- —The existence of the consolidated budget deficit;
- —A dramatic increase in the National Bank's credit emission (more than 100 trillion karbovanetses [K] over eight months of 1994);
- —A stable increase in the volume of nonpayments during the year (approximately $1 billion per quarter) and the increase in the aggregate debt to $7.1 billion;
- —The curbing of exports and virtual inability to pay for critical imports, primarily energy resources;
- —A failure to resolve the problem of servicing the debt;
- —Extremely low living standards of vast groups of people

This situation has been caused by an entire range of reasons, of both an objective and subjective nature. The key problem, however, was the absence until recently of a precise, purposeful, and complex economic policy.

Thus, just as is emphasized in the Ukrainian president's program, we need fundamental decisions to improve the situation in economy and society. While doing that, we must remember that it is impossible to restore the former economic model, not only because certain forces in Ukraine oppose that, but also because our neighbors are already living under different economic conditions.

Ukraine has debts to Russian enterprises—I underline that not individual producers but the state itself has debts. Our central executive bodies and our sectoral ministries no longer have counterparts of the same kind and level in Russia, Belarus, Moldova, or Kazakhstan, given that in those states the process of destatization is more advanced and profound. The restoration of the structure of authority, which should secure the implementation of reform, is not tribute to fashion or competition between different economic schools. This is both an objective reality and necessity. Without resolute changes, not only will we be unable to halt the economic decline and improve people's living standards—we may bring about a crisis of relations between executive authorities and the provinces.

The issue of delegating to the latter a greater responsibility for all the processes occurring on their territories is a top priority. Thus far, the desire to have more independence has been regarded as an aim in itself.

A transition from sectoral management to functional management is urgent, too. Functional ministries, concerns, consortiums, and the like should become the primary decisive macroeconomic entities. Sectoral ministries should retain the function of coordinating economic events, studying demand on the domestic market and the conjuncture on the world market for Ukraine to be able to find niches in those trade zones to which we are able to obtain access.

There are two factors impeding a balanced economic policy not accompanied by price hikes, growing inflation, and the devaluation of the karbovanets in correlation with other currencies. Those factors are—the budget deficit and the negative balance of payments. There are two options: We can reduce consumption—of course, within reasonable limits to prevent a decline in production—and engage additional resources acquired either from Russia and international financial organizations or—on the basis of bilateral agreements—from those states that, let us say, possess those kinds of funds. One thing should be emphasized here: What are being deemed as the conditions expressed to Ukraine by the IMF or the World Bank, and regarded as a kind of infringement upon our state's interests, are in reality vital for Ukraine's economy.

It will not be easy to change the investment policy. We have a large number of sectoral programs which demand the use of financial resources. The only solution is to support those projects which can grant an immediate return, which may bring about a tangible increase in GNP and thus, an increase of the income side of the budget. By doing so, we can amass funds for future more expansive endeavors. I am referring to the processing of agrarian products, medical, and pharmaceutical industries, aircraft building, shipbuilding, and so on. In those sectors we have sufficient potential and good sample

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

products. Those who dream about a Ukrainian car or combine harvester should keep in mind that billions of dollars would have to be invested in those industries, and a positive result could be obtained in, say, five years. Would it then not be better to resolve—within the next three years—problems in those sectors in which we have certain experience?

High technologies should also be regarded as priority directions in the concentration of investment capital. Our scientists have inventions and the know-how in both the field of software and space technologies. Ukraine, for instance, can participate in international space exploration endeavors. Ukraine's role in the "International Interplanetary Station" project has already been discussed, in which Japan, the United States, France, Germany, England, and Russia are involved. If Ukraine joins this program it will both earn hard currency and carry out the conversion of appropriate industries.

Cooperation with republics of the former USSR is extremely important to us, for those states have enough raw materials critical to our enterprises, and they are willing to sell them. We could create a single technological chain which would involve the processing of raw materials, the sale of the end product, and the distribution of incomes. We have disrupted a vast majority of former cooperation ties. At the beginning, it was our mistake, given that we behaved like irresponsible partners. We failed to make timely payments—in either money or products—for commodities delivered to us. We now have the bad reputation as a debtor, and we will have to work to restore confidence and acquire those markets which we so foresightedly lost. The most profitable thing is to be equally open to everyone. We understand perfectly well that new technologies and methods of management will come from the West, however the markets for our traditional products lie primarily in the East. Meanwhile, nobody objects to trading with the South, West, or North.

We should select several promising projects in the fields of energy-conservation, telecommunications and communications, the exploitation of semiprecious stone deposits, machine building, and the construction and use of pipelines, with which we could enter world markets. Thanks to those fields, we could create jobs in other industries.

In business relations with foreign companies, we should create an image of a permanent long-range partner. Grave importance here will belong to stability of laws, of investment policy, and of the tax system. It is typical for those who have arrived in Ukraine for a long time and with serious intentions, that they do not look for one-time profits; the desire to solidify their positions in the Ukrainian market prevails. To accomplish this, however, they need certainty that the rules of the game will remain unchanged for at least 15 to 20 years. This will be possible solely under the conditions of the mechanism of a market-type price formation based on supply and demand, as well as a market-type mechanism of determining the exchange rate of the Ukrainian karbovanets against other currencies. Of course, the elements of state regulation should be preserved. However, they should exist solely in the form of—let us say—control on the part of state bodies over monopolists who abuse their position at the market, and application by the state of the economic levers—export and import breaks or quotas.

As you see, there is nothing extraordinary. Yet all this can only be carried out when there is accord in society and when most people have confidence in executive authorities, which are only just now being established. I am referring to the presidential structure reaching from top to bottom. The decisions made in the center must be implemented in the provinces. State regulation should be combined with the liberalization of economic activities. That is to say, an entity should have the right to select types of businesses and at the same time, should be responsible for their activities. Thus, it will not be under bureaucrats' jurisdiction who can be engaged in business and how they would do that.

Agrarian policy, too, needs to be changed. At this point, the state is the purchaser of most agrarian products, although it does not have enough funds. Year after year we make the same mistake—we agree to carry out emissions and, as a result, we have price increases, dropping living standards, and inflation.

A lot of state and nonstate structures in Ukraine have accumulated significant funds in their bank accounts. There are approximately 60 trillion [currency not specified] of such "leftovers." The cash kept for current payments is estimated at almost another 50 trillion. We cannot use those funds or engage them in financing specific programs. That is why, we are drinking from the "emission stream."

Why do banks not want to issue credits for the implementation of those programs? The reason is very simple—they do not have a guarantee of stability. Credits do not return. This excess money in the economy, which is not engaged in circulation in the form of credits, can be used to exert pressure on the market in the interests of those structures which own that money.

Our entire banking system, too, needs to be reformed. To my great regret, it is not yet functioning as a single mechanism which would become an integral part of society and serve its needs. Until now, banks have had a lot of opportunities to work for their own needs and accumulate capital. Well, we should perhaps think about a way to use the funds accumulated in various kinds of banks. Those funds should be engaged as free resources on a reciprocal basis.

Everybody suggests that the government make centralized investments. I would like to remind the people that those credits, too, will have to be returned in the future. In the West, the cheapest form of credit investments is additional emissions of shares and the engagement of

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

shareholders' money. Another source is the portion of the profit used to replenish working capital or form investment capital. Meanwhile, bank credits are regarded as a forced measure, undertaken after the first two options have failed.

Budget policy changes planned for the immediate future include a greater independence of the provinces where in fact, the monetary mass is being formed. Of course, the nature of the deployment of productive forces in Ukraine will demand a certain financial redivision among Ukraine's oblasts made on the basis of common sense. Excessive funds, however, will not be removed from the provinces.

Other aspects, too, will be taken into account. We must eliminate conditions which enable us to gain profits using differences in prices. Access to purchases of hard currency should be equal for all economic entities and should depend on their economic efficiency, not the form of ownership.

Reform of the tax system may solely encourage legal activities of those businessmen operating in the gray economic zone, who owe their current status not to the criminal origin of their capital but to the impossibility to "catch their breath" because of merciless taxes. The volume of taxes should not be increased, but the number of entities paying them. In the long run, everyone who earns profits would feel easier if their relations with the state were aboveboard.

In light of the current situation in the state, every economic entity can very easily prove that it deserves to be a recipient of monetary injections. The financial potential of the state does, however, have its limits. Of course, price increases are tough measures. However, the situation becomes even harder when attempts are being made to artificially restrain prices when there are no sources for subsidies. By emitting new funds unbacked by products we create a situation in which prices are growing independently of administrative measures. This does not make things easier for consumers.

The first package of correlated measures has already been undertaken to achieve macroeconomic stability. This includes liberalization of the system of price regulation. At least a 30-percent reduction has been carried out of the volumes of changes in prices and tariffs declared by enterprises. Until a mechanism of price regulation for products manufactured by monopolists is launched, the profitability limit will be preserved.

The ratio of free wholesale prices will be 89 percent in the fourth quarter of 1994, including 50 percent of prices introduced under the profitability limit. Meanwhile, the ratio of free retail prices will be 34 percent.

The measures also include:

A unification of currency exchange rates. Since 24 October 1994, the National Bank of Ukraine has been determining the official karbovanets exchange rate based on the results of sessions of the Ukrainian interbank hard currency exchange. The mechanism for determining and using the karbovanets exchange rate has been launched.

Liberalization of foreign trade. All export quotas and licenses have been annulled, with the exception of those for grain, coal, scrap precious and ferrous metals, and pig iron.

Along with the aforementioned measures, wages at state-run enterprises, institutions, and organizations, as well as pensions have been increased as of 1 October. The maximum level of average per capita income which qualifies for monetary assistance has been increased in line with inflation.

All those measures have been undertaken without exceeding the fixed estimates of the state budget deficit and the pension fund.

Crimean Speaker Discusses 1994

WS0401124795 Kiev KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 29 Dec 95 p 3

[Report on interview with Crimean Supreme Soviet Speaker Serhiy Tsekov by Nikolay Voronkov; place and date not given: "We Failed To Live Up to the Hopes of our Electorate to a Large Degree"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Crimean Supreme Soviet Speaker Serhiy Tsekov held a news conference summing up the results of the past year, during which he said:

About the Supreme Soviet

"...The Supreme Soviet did a fairly good job, because we could have sustained much heavier losses than we actually have. We managed to head off a serious crisis and standoff between branches of power..."

"The situation remains complicated. I think we will manage to avoid a crisis in the Supreme Soviet leadership. There is understanding that the Presidium needs to be rotated, which will be done. Two Presidium members have already submitted their resignations.

"The Crimean Supreme Soviet functions in the legal environment of Ukraine. It is a different thing that there are disagreements over the understanding of this environment... One document should regulate our relations. I still believe that there should be a treaty allowing us to coordinate all of our laws in the future, instead of just bringing Crimean legislation in line with the Ukrainian one."

About Crimean Statehood

"...We did a lot to consolidate Crimean statehood in the initial stage. Unfortunately, this last [achievement] was leveled due to the standoff between the legislative and executive branches of power. In general, one should

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

agree that Crimeans had more confidence in their leadership before both the legislative and presidential elections, and that we failed to live up to the hopes of our electorate to a large degree..."

About Accomplishments

"A great accomplishment is that over the past eight months, we succeeded in establishing fairly good relations with the Russian Federation. Our relationship is being translated into permanent and regular interaction with government institutions of the Russian Federation."

"...We managed to quickly form the government. I consider it a big accomplishment, because in three weeks, we showed that Crimea has an executive branch and government which can address problems in a quick and efficient manner. "

About Shortcomings

"A negative aspect is the worsening of relations with Ukraine. Both the Crimean Supreme Soviet and the Ukrainian Supreme Council made mistakes here. In my opinion, there still is no agreement that our relations should be based on confidence and coordination..."

About Ukraine

"Unfortunately, decisions by the Ukrainian parliament have recently been more akin to ultimatums. Over the past three months, the Crimean Supreme Soviet refrained from adopting unjustifiably harsh decisions.

"In my opinion, the chapter pertaining to Crimea, contained in the draft law on power [which has now become law] fully complies with the recently adopted legislation. If left intact, this law would suit us just fine.

"Attempts to install a rigid vertical [system of power], bordering on an authoritarian regime and pitched as a guarantee of quick economic transformations, are the result of the fact that CIS states have no experience in reforming the system of local representative power.

"If Ukraine is affected by the standoff between the branches of power, this will not bring anything positive—just as was the case in Crimea..."

About Russia

"We will work to establish ties with any Russia, whatever Russia it might be..."

About Sevastopol

"Sevastopol is an inalienable part of Crimea. This should be remembered not only when they talk about the Russian status of that city—those problems also appear regarding Ukraine. At present, Sevastopol is virtually removed from Crimea. Everything is happening there according to Ukrainian law..."

About Chechnya

"You cannot compare the situation in Crimea and Chechnya. The latter was never part of Ukraine, and 70 percent of the people living there are not Russians. There is no similarity. However, my point of view is that all problems, including internal ones, should be solved at the negotiating table..."

About Crimea Breaking Away From Ukraine and the "Theory of Territorial Evolution"

"On the part of Crimea, there are no attempts to violate the territorial integrity of Ukraine. There are no grounds for applying force, just as there will be none in Chechnya..."

[Voronkov] Has Russia set a precedent allowing Ukraine to use force in resolving its territorial problems?

[Tsekov] Any forcible measures in Crimea will only result in Crimea's leaving Ukraine.

The program of the Republican Party of Crimea/ Republican Movement of Crimea has never contained such a goal—to leave Ukraine. It is worded in a different way. We have never disavowed our ideas and programs...

[Voronkov] Can you repeat Kuchma's statement that Crimea has always been, and will always be, an integral part of Ukraine?

[Tsekov] I cannot say what will happen in the remote future. Everything may change, even what Leonid Kuchma once said. Moreover, it might be sanctioned by the highest leader of Ukraine. I think that this should by all means be carried out by peaceful methods.

I accept territorial evolution by peaceful methods..."

Crimea Reduces 'Critical' Energy Supply Level

WS0401151795 Simferopol GOLOS KRYMA in Russian 16 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Sevil Kurshutova: "The Situation in the Fuel and Energy Complex Is Critical"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in the fuel and energy complex is critical, said Crimean Deputy Prime Minister A. Demidenko at a news conference on 8 December.

The peninsula's own resources are only enough to meet 7 percent of its demand for electricity, the other 93 percent is supplied by the Ukrainian energy system. Experts estimate that for the national economy to operate normally, Crimea needs to consume about 1,300 megawatts of electricity every month. Unfortunately, due to the difficult situation in the Ukrainian fuel and energy complex, Crimea will receive only 1,000 megawatts in December.

To make things worse, the Republic runs a 920-billion-karbovantsi [K] debt for electricity with Ukraine.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The Crimean Government thinks that it will be able to repay this debt within 10 days.

To prevent closures of large industrial enterprises due to disruptions in electricity supplies, the government is forced to resort to unpopular measures, cutting back on electricity delivered to the population. The leaders of local government institutions, who were put in charge to ensure that the limits are respected, received the right to single-handedly turn off the electricity.

The situation with gas supplies is as complicated, even though the 30 percent received from local resources allow the peninsula to feel somewhat better, at least when compared with other Ukrainian oblasts. The first deputy to the general manager of the Production Amalgamation "Chernomorneftegaz," N. Ilnitskiy, stated: "There is no gas problem, there are problems with money." That is hardly a questionable point, because the debt of Krymgaz to "Chernomorneftegaz" is K574 billion and $10 million.

Crimean Urges Economic Integration With Russia

LD0301210495 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1935 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Simferopol, 6 Jan—"The sooner we make a decision on property, the sooner we can integrate with the Russian economy and welcome investments," said Volodymyr Shyshkin, Crimean minister of economy, in an argument for large-scale privatization at a meeting of the republic's Supreme Council presidium. The minister said that privatization was impeded by the moratorium on privatization imposed by the Crimean Supreme Council on 25 September 1992 and the absence of a clear division between Ukraine's national property and that of the Crimean Republic.

Crimeans have been virtually excluded from Ukrainian privatization, the minister said. The exception is Sevastopol, where 48 objects of state property with a total value of 50 billion karbovantsi were privatized in 1994. Mr. Shyshkin proposed that the Supreme Council of Crimea approve a joint resolution by the republic's State Property Fund and Cabinet of Ministers on privatization. The resolution will be discussed at a parliamentary sitting on 9 January.

Chechen War Seen To Impact Crimea

AU0301202795 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 50 (181) Dec 94 p 1

[Commentary by Taras Kuzyo in London: "The Chechen War: Consequences for Ukraine"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Chechen crisis will undoubtedly lead to a deterioration of Russia's relations with the West. At the same time, Ukraine's image has been most positive since the proclamation of its independence. The resolution of the nuclear problem and L. Kuchma's reform programs have considerably improved Kiev's relations with the West and with international financial organizations.

The war in Chechnya will apparently give rise to anti-Russian sentiments on the territory of the former USSR, especially in the Muslim republics, and will reduce to nought the Russian policy regarding closer integration of the CIS countries—mainly in Georgia and Azerbaijan. The military conflict in the Caucasus is distracting the attention of those imperial forces in Russia that strive for a military and political alliance with Ukraine.

The Chechen war narrows down the area for Leonid Kuchma's maneuvering among the political parties and regional groups. Russia now looks less stable and less "attractive" to the Ukrainian leadership. From now on there will be more resistance in Ukraine to any calls for closer integration. In Crimea, the Chechen events further radicalize the anti-Russian and pro-Islamic sentiments among the Crimean Tatar population, sentiments that are strong anyway.

In addition, the Crimean crisis will also have profound consequences for Ukraine in the event of a change in the present Russian leadership. It is not known who will replace Yeltsin. Nor should one forget that stability in Ukraine may be upset by refugees from the area of the conflict, by the loss of markets for Ukrainian goods and of energy sources in the event of the disintegration of the Russian Federation, and also by a possible spread of the conflict to the territory of Ukraine. Besides, there is information that some military subunits of the Russian Army refuse to take part in combat actions in Groznyy, something that attests to internal dissent within the Russian Armed Forces. What could be more dangerous for Ukraine than a disorganized and unstable Russian Army near Ukrainian borders?

Ministers Approve Nuclear Power Facility

LD0301204795 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1935 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, 3 Jan— Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers has approved a resolution to commission generating set No. 6 at Zaporozhye AES [nuclear electric power plant] and the nuclear power plant as a whole. The document envisages that the AES will commission as a whole, together with necessary auxiliary facilities and structures, in 1997.

The State Committee for the Use of Nuclear Power has been instructed to complete the construction of the infrastructure which will guarantee proper living standards for Zaporozhye AES employees and their families by the year 2000.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Belarus

President on Economic Relations With Russia

LD0301203995 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1700 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The collegium of the Cabinet of Ministers today held the first session of the year in the Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers. Our correspondent Natalya Stepashkina has just returned from the house of government.

[Stepashkina] First of all, I will note that President Alyaksandr Lukashenka was present at the meeting and chaired it. It was he who suggested inviting journalists to meetings of the Cabinet of Ministers.

The agenda of the meeting included the draft agreement between Belarus and Russia. The packet of the agreement includes about 30 clauses. The main clauses have already been prepared and submitted to the collegium for consideration, for example, agreements on peace and good-neighborly relationship, one on a customs union, on the main principles of creating joint financial and production groups, on main military sites, and others. It is noteworthy that agreement was reached almost on all issues.

The documents submitted to the Cabinet of Ministers were adopted with some amendments. Probably most of them will be signed by the Russian delegation headed by Deputy Prime Minister Bolshakov at a meeting scheduled to take place around 5-6 December [as heard]. Some, maybe the most important clauses of the agreement, will be considered by Alyaksandr Lukashenka and Boris Yeltsin during a visit to Belarus by the Russian president. Assessing the prospects of those agreements being signed, Alyaksandr Lukashenka commented:

[Begin Lukashenka recording] Any unforeseen circumstances are possible, and it is possible that something may happen, because there is instability in Russia and some political instability in Belarus. Therefore anything is possible.

It is of course undesirable to part with the Russian Federation in solving those economic problems. From Russia's political and economic point of view, Belarus is now probably Russia's main interest in the CIS—I stress, from the political and economic point of view.

From our point of view, our interests are there. It was rightly noted here that 80 percent of our markets are there, and that sums up everything. I cannot believe that a single politician or economist could say today: So what, let us act as if we were absolutely independent; let us pay world prices. January will determine not only the future relations between Russia and Belarus but also the state of the Belarusian economy altogether.

We are now effectively implementing something that gave cause to concern and raised objections, as you may remember, in the agreement between Kebich and the Russian Government—about violation of the Constitution. The Constitution is not being violated today; the Constitution of our sovereign state is not being violated in any respect. It would be good if we had a chance in these difficult time to work more or less evenly and to move the economy. This is what concerns me most of all. [end recording]

Correction to Lukashenka Addresses Nation

WS2912130094 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian at 1925 GMT 27 Dec 94

[Speech by Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka from Minsk BTK Television Network studios in Minsk—live, in Russian]

[FBIS Translated Text] [The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Lukashenka Delivers National Address," published in the 29 Dec Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT, page 33. The correction supplies the first 35 minutes of the address, completing the item.] Respected compatriots and citizens! As the president of the Republic of Belarus, I think it my duty to share with you the results of my reflections and present to you my assessment of the situation in our country. Unfortunately, today we meet not on the occasion of the New Year; it is a usual businesslike conversation. We are to meet once again on New Year's Eve.

We have lived through a difficult—I would even say, a very difficult—year. First of all, I have in mind our economic situation and the living standards of the overwhelming majority of our people. Both the one and the other have continued to deteriorate. As the president of the Republic, I have had to adopt a (?number) of difficult and unpopular resolutions. One could not help but adopt them, since there was only one alternative to them—complete ruin of economic life in the country, chaos, and [word indistinct] national catastrophe. You have understood and supported me in this. Thank you once again. We have avoided this catastrophe. Today, when winter is at its height, we have heat, bread, and food. Believe me, that is quite a lot given the present circumstances. During these (?months), I managed to form the (?entire) highest echelon of executive power in the Republic. People have begun to work and the first results are now visible.

As you know, by the end of September, the Supreme Soviet approved the program of urgent anti-crisis measures. The program primarily envisioned measures for macroeconomic stabilization. This is a painful process, but it could not be delayed. Many measures envisioned by the program have just now been adopted and have not had time to begin working to their full extent. The results, however small, have already been achieved. [Word indistinct] payments of enterprises were improved. [passage indistinct]

The increase of debt to the Russian Federation for fuel has been stopped. The Republic's trade balance has

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

begun to become equalized. As of 1 July 1994, we had 664 unprofitable enterprises in the Republic, what represents 8 percent of [words indistinct]; as of 1 November 1994, this figure decreased to 491 enterprises, that is, to 5.9 percent. The budget is also being healed. Its annual deficit stands at 4.2 percent instead of the 6 [percent] approved by the Supreme Soviet. This allowed us to switch to a full payment of current debts for energy resources, owing to which today I can assuredly tell you once again: Nobody will freeze from the cold, dwellings will be provided with heat, gas, and electricity.

Apart from this, an agreement has been reached with Russia's Gazprom on supplying Belarus in 1995 with 16 billion cubic meters of natural gas at a price of $53 per 1,000 cubic meters, which is over 1.5 times lower than the world price [words indistinct].

Belarus is establishing normal, partnership-like relations with other countries, which formerly constituted the Soviet Union. Not long ago, a governmental delegation headed by the president visited Uzbekistan. In an interview with Belarusian television [words indistinct] said that I fly to President Karimov to resolve a woman's issue. Our entire light industry, that is, 20 percent of our industry [words indistinct]. The annual demand for that raw material in Belarus amounts 20,000 tonnes. As a result of the concluded agreement, cotton will be supplied to Belarus [words indistinct]. This means that 75 percent of the people, primarily women, working in this priority economic branch in our Republic will be fully employed next year [words indistinct]. An agreement has also been reached on supplies of a large batch of agricultural [passage indistinct]. Our [Minsk] Tractor Plant has won a tender to supply 3,000 tractors. [passage indistinct] Much has been mapped out to invigorate our chemical industry. In the former Soviet Union, Belarus was both an assembly shop and a chemical laboratory. Unfortunately, to achieve stabilization in chemical industry [words indistinct] not only orders for supplies of production [words indistinct]. These are gas and, first of all, oil. This is why today the government and the president are carrying out extensive work for reaching mutually beneficial agreements in this sphere, first of all, with the Russian Government. However, not forgetting about alternative sources of (?raw materials).

A governmental delegation headed by Deputy Prime Minister Valeriy Korakev have recently visited the United Arab Emirates, where it held talks [word indistinct] oil suppliers in the Middle East. Our Republic was visited by the manager of the Russian concern [name indistinct]. A number of other possibilities are being examined. Issues of the creation of a transnational financial-and-industrial group producing [words indistinct] fibers are being worked out; this group might be joined by the Mogilev and Svetlogorsk production association Khimvolokno, the joint stock company [name indistinct], the production association Naftan, [words indistinct]. I should say that this is only one of the financial-and-industrial groups which will soon be created by Russia and other republics of the former Soviet Union. This is namely the way for integration and restoration of broken ties of the former Soviet Union, which has been chosen by the president of the Republic of Belarus.

I can say that all issues connected with the reorganization of the state power system, [word indistinct] manageability over the country, and the buildup of the vertical of presidential power have not prevented us from being occupied with economic [word indistinct]. The first tangible result is already available. The volume of exports from Belarus has at last significantly exceeded the volume of imports to Belarus. As compared with the corresponding period of 1993, the exports to countries of the far abroad increased by 23 percent. The external trade balance with these countries is positive, and, as of today, is equal to $381.3 million. We also hope that we can manage to obtain Western credits to seriously take up the restructuring of our economy.

Now, about the most essential thing, but very briefly, since I have dwelled on this issue in every oblast, while forming the vertical of presidential power. About prices, first of all, in shops.

Respected citizens! Surely, in connection with this, putting it frankly, I have lost quite a lot of, if not supporters, then at least those who voted for me. I have often asked: Respected comrades! A man cannot be criticized for something he has not done. He can be criticized, and even in a ruthless way, only for those deeds he could do, but has not done. I want you, as long as I am president, to adopt this very criterion for mutual relations with the first Belarusian president, who was so supported by you during the elections. I would like you to avoid emotions in your contacts with the head of state. I would like you to finally start thinking about what is going on in our Republic. So, what is going on in our Republic, first of all, with this issue?

Yes, indeed, prices for goods in our shops are not low. But why? Why have the people so quickly forgotten the fact that we have suffered a dreadful drought this year, that we have not harvested practically a quarter of the grain that we need for baking bread and feeding animals? Is it possible for anybody to not understand that, having (?actually) the full halt to production, we practically had no hard currency reserves? In spite of this, we needed to buy grain. Is it possible that you have forgotten the fact that we have practically harvested no sugar beets, and that we are forced to export the entire stock of sugar that we need today? Is it possible that you have forgotten the fact that, as early as this August, we penned up—in the southern oblast of the Republic, Brest Oblast, and in Grodno Oblast, our bread basket with its highly developed cattle-breeding sector—cattle and we fed them with feed which was stockpiled for winter. [sentence as heard]

And today, all of this should be compensated for. One should find money for this. Add to this the volumes of energy sources—electricity, gas, and oil—that we receive from Russia. It is expensive, even though prices for those

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

sources are below world levels. So far, our economy remains extremely energy-intensive. Here is an alternative—you just think and choose. Advise the president as to what should be done—to pay in wintertime for electricity, gas, and oil with which we heat our apartments to prevent our children from freezing, or to subsidize foodstuffs and other consumer products sitting on store shelves? I have chosen the first option. I want us to live through the winter staying warm. I believe this is what everyone would do if they were in my shoes. I am convinced that things will be easier in spring. I am simply convinced of this if we can only manage to not fall into an abyss once again and to keep industrial performance which [words indistinct]. This past November, for the first time, we have recovered to the level of November 1993. Of course, there is no reason for excitement. But for me and my government it is a victory, albeit it a small one. This is the first victory which, I am sure, will be followed by our common [words indistinct]. This allows us to believe that we will soon manage to overcome negative tendencies in the economy, and the situation will improve.

I sincerely believed that those successes, few as they are, will start to exert positive influence also on the political situation in the Republic, easing political tensions. It turned out that I was wrong. After a humiliating defeat in the presidential elections this summer, my political opponents saw a threat to themselves in those positive signs, fearing that they might bring equally humiliating defeat during the parliamentary elections in 1995. Frenzied and aggressive attempts are now being made to not let this happen. This goal could be achieved by one method only: by destroying the fledgling structure of the executive branch. This will result in a full restoration of negative trends in the economy and a further decline in people's standards of living, allowing [words indistinct] to speak about ineptness of the president and his government. So, with the elections around the corner, all critics have a good chance to land in the parliament on a wave of popular discontent.

My dear fellow countrymen! Please wake up. Let me once again ask you to look around with wide-open eyes. Have past experiences not taught you anything? Do you not understand that as in the old days, after the following legislative elections...[Lukashenka pauses] they will forget what they said. They will forget what they promised you, leaving you, my electorate, and me, your president, alone with problems that exist and will exist for a long time to come. I hope that the Supreme Soviet will spend the time leading into the elections to adopt a number of important laws, the absence of which stalls operation of the authorities in key areas of life. People had every right to expect hard work to provide legal support for the emergency anti-crisis program. The Supreme Soviet assumed responsibility to address economic bills on a priority basis, denying the president the right to efficiently implement the program by presidential edicts. However, no one is addressing them. Tax legislation calls for urgent amendments and additions. There are no laws governing the Cabinet of Ministers, the press, citizen complaints; and a number of other important laws have not yet been adopted. Worse, the Supreme Soviet has not yet approved the state budget for 1995—a year which will begin in several days—even though the government presented a relevant draft law to the [legislative] commissions in October. Also under question is payment of wages to employees of budget-sector institutions. We are not in a position to support low-income categories of doctors, teachers, and students—all those financed by the budget. All this could have been done if the budget had been approved. I must tell you that in this situation, the government devised and submitted for approval to the president, legislation increasing wages from 1 January, primarily for workers of grades 1-10. It was also decided to slightly improve the situation of people with low pensions and students, with whom I met yesterday. Necessary calculations were made at the initiative of the presidential administration. Once again, I officially declare that payments for municipal services will not be revised until next spring. I am often criticized now that the government says one thing and the president says another thing. Let us dot all the i's. The government makes absolutely correct estimates regarding charges for municipal services. But I have always told you that the president has the final say. I see no need to undertake such abrupt measures proposed by the government, even though—let me emphasize this—it has every right to do so. I think that we will survive this winter and help our citizens pay for municipal services. This is a very important issue to which we will come back in the next year. We will tell you about this issue. The president will do this. He will explain you the mechanisms being devised by the government to improve the situation. But I think that this should be done when [words indistinct] finish so that people could sustain this pressure.

I signed an edict yesterday increasing salaries for servicemen and common soldiers and top officers of Interior Ministry institutions—even though some retired generals attempted to impose an opposite opinion, including one about introducing income tax for servicemen. They pursued only one goal—to estrange the Army, the KGB, and the Interior Ministry from the president. They know only too well that the president stops being one once he is stripped of support from the power structures. Let me say even more: A conversation has been held today with the chief of the KGB Administration in Brest Oblast. The man, whom I have recently appointed, reported to me about the situation in the KGB and the state of its discipline. I will not say that what he reported was news to me. But following that conversation, we completely agreed on priority support for KGB servicemen. Indeed, it is a wrong thing that the potential of this organization remains practically unused. It is a wrong thing that Army cadets do not receive enough money. It is a wrong thing that those in the KGB and the Interior Ministry, who are engaged in

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

operational and investigative work, standing in the crossfire and facing bullets shot at them, do not receive high enough salaries.

We will put an end to that on 1 January. At the same time, I would like all the aforementioned categories of citizens to remember that to do so, we will sacrifice our very last possessions. Our current financial situation is very difficult. Many enterprises rising up from their knees, are asking: Help us, give us funds. From where shall we get those funds? There are two sources: The budget and the [money-printing] machine. I have not turned on the machine a single time since I became president. And I will not turn it on, no matter how tough the situation, because this would increase the monetary mass not backed by consumer products and initiate outrageous price hikes, which are currently afflicting the people. We should live within our means. We should live proceeding from our current incomes and the quality of our work. It is not becoming to build up debts and make our children and grandchildren repay them.

I also believe that it is necessary to restore elementary order in our state. People should not be afraid to walk the streets; they have the right to not worry about their families [word indistinct]. We still have no laws on fighting organized crime and corruption, although appropriate bills have been submitted for Supreme Soviet discussion. In light of this, I was forced today to sign an edict on stabilizing the situation in the Republic. This is a very tough edict, which will put an end to anarchy and restore discipline and order in the state. [Words indistinct] with what has the Supreme Soviet—the branch of authority which has the same rights as the president—been preoccupied recently? The law on the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus has become the pinnacle of their lawmaking activity. I would call it something different: The law on securing absolute prosperity for all the current deputies until the end of their lives, regardless of what they do and how they perform their duties. Given the situation of millions of our compatriots, it is bitter and sad to read the (?articles) of the law which, in great detail, regulates the conditions for the comfortable existence of people's deputies. Those [articles] include a ban on dismissals and demotions, high pensions protected against inflation, medical treatment, use of health resorts and sanatoria, and many more. One has the impression that a collective degradation of moral principles has occurred. The articles stipulating lawmakers' benefits were voted for by a constitutional majority; even more than that. Some 260 or 270 out of 300 deputies voted for them. Our legislature has not demonstrated this kind of unanimity for a very long time. The communists, the so-called democrats, the Popular Front members, and others all voted alike.

I would like to take this opportunity and cite a couple of lines, or rather a couple of articles from that law.

[Lukashenka, in Belarusian]The Supreme Soviet guarantees former deputies the preservation of their salaries [words indistinct] for a period of one year. If former deputies need additional education or training to change their qualifications, their salaries shall be preserved for a period of two years. [end language]

Thus, if a deputy whose term in the legislature expires wants to change his qualifications afterwards, he is entitled to a colossal salary, which he will receive for two years. Paid from the budget; paid by taxpayers.

[Lukashenka, in Belarusian] If a former deputy fails to find a job after the aforementioned periods of time, they shall be entitled to 50 percent of the salary of Supreme Soviet deputies in accordance with the post occupied, until they reach retirement age. [end language]

If a 30-year-old deputy abandons his deputy post, he will be receiving half of his salary until retirement! Thus, they have already fixed pensions for themselves, although they are only 20, 30, or 40 years old now! Article 114.

[Lukashenka, in Belarusian] Upon expiration of deputies' term in the legislature, they shall be entitled to a one-time retirement allowance amounting to their six-month salary. [end language]

Thus, the exhausted Supreme Soviet deputies will each receive some 3,000,000 [rubles]. They also did not forget about their life-long medical treatment, as well as the right to use health resorts and sanatoria. The former deputies have the same right to that kind of treatment as the active ones. Tell me, what damage will this inflict on the state treasury? However, that is not all. The same law exempts them from the laws currently applied in the state. Article 110 reads:

[Lukashenka, in Belarusian] Supreme Soviet deputies shall enjoy parliamentary immunity during their term in the legislature, and for two years after the end of their term. [end language]

Thus, they can do what they want and be exempt from all laws! Article 113.

[Lukashenka, in Belarusian] Over a period of five years after the expiration of their term, Supreme Soviet deputies cannot be dismissed from work or service or demoted at the initiative of employers, enterprises, or organizations [words indistinct] without the Supreme Soviet's preliminary approval. [end language]

The Supreme Soviet chairman, too, has been given his share—he will have the right to retain his dacha, the same one that the president, after assuming his post, confiscated from him and the Council of Ministers chairman. Everything returns to its course. I emphasize—there was full unanimity among deputies, including the communists and the ardent fighters against corruption [words indistinct]. This is the face of the current Supreme Soviet! Why think about the people? Everybody is preoccupied with their personal problems. The term may soon expire or, with God's help, may last

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

a little longer. I wish the lawmakers had this kind of unanimity and (?perseverance) while resolving other issues, especially those regarding our people's living conditions, as well as the parliament's own decision to hold early elections. However, it is too late to speak about that now. The deputies have fully used their term in the legislature and we should speak about late rather than early elections. Last time, the people voted in March 1990. It might seem that the next elections should be held in March 1995, although there was a decision to hold them in December 1994. However, the elections will be held as late as May. Thus, the Supreme Soviet has violated the fundamental law—the Constitution—and will extend its term for two more months. Does this imply that there are those who can violate the Constitution and those who cannot?

Now about the issue which allegedly stirred the emotions in society, while actually only the politicized group of Minsk residents was involved. I am referring to the Popular Front's report at the recent Supreme Soviet session. The form of the report, but not its content, is identical to the report by the Supreme Soviet Commission for Fighting Corruption, then headed by the current Belarusian president. Yet after [Lukashenka's] report, in fact by an administrative resolution of Supreme Soviet Chairman Hryb, the commission was disbanded, and its chairman was deprived of his salary, transport, and communication. You remember that. You remember how people's deputies were fighting against that commission.

All the deputies who, as I have already said, supported at the time Supreme Soviet chairman Hryb, on the issue of dissolution of the committee, are now proposing to set up a new commission. Why? Maybe the facts are weightier now? No, absolutely not. Not at all weightier. It is simply that one has to set up a commission today because it will be unambiguously directed against the current president and against his entourage, as it is now a custom to call it. Many out of the so-called facts which the reporter quoted are two and three years old. Most of them were known before, a number of them were investigated and their incorrectness was proved. No, they have to be unearthed again, interpreted in a new way the aim being to throw mud at the people close to the president.

Esteemed citizens of the Republic of Belarus, since this issue has become virtually the most important issue today not just in the streets and in the kitchens, but also at the rallies of many political activists, I would like to turn your attention to just one fact: the report of the Belarusian Popular Front did not give a single fact which would concern the period of the activities of the administration of the president. Remember, the president set up his administration by his decree on 20 August 1994, i.e. approximately three months ago. Put on my table the facts of corruption in the administration during that period and I will be prepared to take responsibility for them.

Why are you blaming me for what happened in 1991, 1992 and 1993. Was it not Lukashenka who was shouting about it from the rostrum of the Supreme Soviet and demanded that measures should be taken. Why am I today blamed for things that should not be [word indistinct]. Many accusations, which were presented in that report are all (?absurd) and many facts which are quoted in it [words indistinct]. And when we [words indistinct] of the report and the reporter who all of a sudden became a little Napoleon and is walking around today with a proudly lifted head, we will see that it is [words indistinct]. And even where the facts are concerned: let's take the case of [word indistinct], the known (?murder) of [word indistinct].

You remember when Lukashenka was speaking about the billions which were issued by the National Bank through the Belbiznesbank and other banks to certain structures [words indistinct]. That was how Lukashenka was putting the question. The uproar began then. But till today [word indistinct] the guilty have not been found. But the great anticorruption activist had to turn those facts against not other than the current prime minister Chyhir who has no connection to that case, but he found himself [word indistinct].

How can the head of the government after that [words indistinct]? Or take the facts which were quoted regarding Vabishch, as was said, although the real surname of that person is Vabishchevich. [word indistinct] Lukashenka allegedly [word indistinct] money by that person, who disappeared after that in an unknown direction and has not yet been traced by us. It was he who took money out by the million in sacks from the savings bank of our republic. That fact has been again raised but it is now directed against the current [word indistinct]. It happened two years ago.

Such an approach toward presenting facts has been poured upon the unprepared population like a storm. You, esteemed nation, or part of it, are now ready to crush [word indistinct] our idol, the current president, and believe that he is stealing too. How can I understand you, esteemed electors? You believed me, you elected me. How can one manage to squander the republic in three months? There was nothing to steal. (?Everything had been taken). Where were you then, the gentlemen who are today [word indistinct] actively fighting corruption. The stealing began when the state broke up in 1991. Did you forget who initiated that break up? Did you forget who was shouting (?socialist empire)? Did you forget [words indistinct] the present day national-fascists [words indistinct] turn into such a storm of applause.

When I am told about the orientation of [words indistinct] I become (?frightened) [word indistinct] because if our people [words indistinct] the fate of nationalism and rule of nationalists, if they (?wanted it) they would probably have elected the president and would perceive [words indistinct] at the presidential elections. Forgive me for appealing to you, esteemed electors, but having

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

elected me as president, you are now prepared to leave me face to face with those problems and those enraged people who [words indistinct]. I am ready to meet this fate and I will [word indistinct] it as if [words indistinct]. I will not allow anybody to break me and to put me down.

The essence of the underwater part of the iceberg, the top of which is the political show staged in the parliament, is that the president and his team should not be in the way of [words indistinct]. Do you think that the report which was delivered by the members of the Belarusian Popular Front in the Supreme Soviet was (?really) based on their own investigation, as was stated, by 200 patriots, who love Belarus?

Maybe there are not any more patriots in Belarus, only those 200. These are facts supplied first of all by people, formerly in power and who were removed from the source of their income; these are facts supplied from the Procurator's Office of the Republic of Belarus - in this case I can clearly see the position of Vasiliy Shaladonaw and I will tell you about it in due course; these are facts supplied by the Control Chamber, certain members of the Control Chamber. I mean the report of the members of the Belarussian Popular Front. I am often told by communists and by leftists, you, Lukashenka, are delivering power on your own shoulders to the Belarusian Patriotic Front. No, it is not Lukashenka who is bringing nationalists to power, it is not Lukashenka, it is you and but first of all your people's deputies.

But believe me, may be very soon, you will have to deal with the results of your actions. We have most resolutely, for example, streamlined deliveries of oil products on the republic's quotas. While before this issue was dealt with by, as I have already told you, over 150 big and little firms, today only 4 of them are left.

In order to explain to you the essence of the conversation, I will tell you the following: yesterday from Russia, and today still too, 150 firms supplied oil to our two oil processing plants in Mozyr and Novopolotsk. Each of them had huge profits from that while robbing our population. Yes, I could fight with those 150 firms on each of the facts quoted in the report of the Patriotic Front. I could have made dozens of such reports but that would not have changed from that; therefore we stroke at the root.

My decree deprived those 150 firms of deliveries for 1995 and they have been substituted by 4 firms which will supply the same amount of oil to our market. Do you think that those 150 firms turned down by me will take it calmly? Just imagine how many people's deputies, politicians, economists, lawyers and various political movements are behind those 150 firms. How many such political activists who milked those commercial structures and expected to carry on doing that at the forthcoming elections? Did you think that they would forgive Lukashenka? No, they will never forgive him. And they joined in actively in preparing that report. All that brotherhood used that one little Napoleon against Lukashenka in the Supreme Soviet. One should understand today this circumstance.

There is another fact. Do you know why the draft law on amendments to the taxation legislation failed to pass in the parliament despite the fact that such a draft law would considerably reduce tax (?pressure)? There is only one reason: the president proposed to increase tax on goods turnover of commercial structures to 5 percent. What do you think? Even in the West they started to stamp their feet and threaten the president: if you do this we will close markets in the West, you cannot increase tax to 5 percent for commercial structures. And those commercial structures, having sensed that, organized immediately all deputies who receive profits from those commercial structures. As a result the Supreme Soviet declined that draft law and is not being considered at all. In that connection the state budget is not considered either.

Forgive my rudeness, but the deputies do not give a damn if doctors and teachers will not receive their wages tomorrow and that students and pensioners will not receive their pensions. It is not the main thing. The main thing is to shout from the rostrum of the Supreme Soviet and from the microphones—and God forbid the chairman of the State Television and Radio Company will not broadcast this circus in the evening. He will be dragged to the rostrum with yet another demand to resign.

Let's stop it, esteemed people's deputies. You should know the score. You promised to people that you would go, so you should go honestly and stop being in the way of work. Sooner or later people will understand everything.

There is another reason which stands out clearly for preparing and delivering that report. We have begun in practice to form an economic union of the CIS republics. Over the past months we have achieved considerable results in our economic relations with Russia, Uzbekistan, Ukraine. This is what the authors of the report are afraid of. These are the processes that they want to crush. Is it not true? We are now practically close to an economic union with Russia and other states. As no other republic we are working intensively on restoring the broken links. As a result, what do we have? Follow this chain, the elections took place, but they did not comply with the scenario which somebody wanted. A certain lull followed when they were simply shocked and depressed. But no, after that retired generals, Pawlaw, Lavitski, Bacharow, Kazlowski and [word indistinct], organized [word indistinct] in the republic because the president did not keep them in his team and I could not keep them.

Do you remember when the president had a misfortune to go away for medical treatment for ten days? Do you remember what those mass media did in the Republic of Belarus? Do you remember what line the Supreme Soviet

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

took? You remember. But they did not succeed. What next? Next is the appeal of independent and bound trade unions to a strike, then a report of the BPF in the Supreme Soviet—a new wave of the anti-president campaign, more appeals to a strike.

The president leaves for Uzbekistan and is absent for three days -the Supreme Soviet raised a whole storm against the President. I thought to myself: maybe I should not even leave the republic. I should permanently be here. [words indistinct] which I should solve outside our state. And again at the head of this storm—former generals, removed from power.

Do you remember after that—blank windows in the newspapers. I would like to talk about that separately. Nobody ever forbade to print this or that information. When I was leaving for Uzbekistan the head of the directorate of socio-political information, Fyaduta, reported that not a single editor-in-chief will print that report before it has been investigated, even the Supreme Soviet did not consider the issue of printing that report however hard the BPF insisted on that.

There was one aim—to defile the President through his entourage, to libel him before his electors. Mr [word indistinct] did not talk about it either. The president left and already in Uzbekistan he received information that SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA had come out with blank windows and as an act of solidarity next day other newspapers did the same. Today it is customary to shout a lot about freedom of press and print. But one clever person, I think prof. Akulov, I recently heard his speech on the radio, he said that if you want freedom, be free at your own expense. But let's look at SOVETSKAYA BELARUS and how free it is and where it gets its money. 1992, in those prices—subsidies from the budget is 53 million plus 36 million plus 24 million... altogether they received 309 million rubles from the budget—and it is in those prices!

It means that they took that money away from teachers, doctors and pensioners. 1993—the subsidy is 248 million rubles. Let us look closer, this year before the denomination—the subsidy from the budget: February—100 million rubles, which is half monthly circulation; March and April—250 million rubles for half monthly circulation; May—1 billion rubles which was almost their monthly circulation. And they today owe money to the budget and the state reserve. Why, do you want to be free at the expense of the state?

Produce money from your own pocket, create your own newspaper and then be free. It is easy to be free at somebody else's expense. The newspaper SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA has recently approached the president asking him to give it editorial freedom. I am stating today straightforwardly: I am setting you free, go and create a new newspaper and be free. But SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA is a people's newspaper, it has always served the nation and it will stay such a people's newspaper.

Why did the editor-in-chief of that newspaper do such a thing? Because very recently the presidential control service has discovered his hard currency account, opened in his wife's name who allegedly lives in Germany and has an apartment there. And the money earned by that newspaper, our money, people's money, I have already said that we subsidize it from the budget, had been transferred to the hard currency account of his wife. How was I supposed to act? The editor-in-chief knew that. And he took those actions in order to pretend later that he had been offended expecting that the president of the republic would not resort to strict measures. I have fired him.

I must note that the story of blank windows in newspapers and the subsequent failure to print a number of newspaper issues did not catch me unaware. Strict but necessary measures have been taken. In that connection I would like to address mass media first of all with the following, do not forget, esteemed [name indistinct] and esteemed [name indistinct], that you are on the territory of a sovereign republic and please be so kind as to respect its laws. I would comment on another matter because it more and more often appears in mass media. You remember the story which concerned the sale of the military complex S-300 PMU-1. Today there is an attempt to present Lukashenka as a corrupt figure who has sold abroad [words indistinct]. In the face of my electors, I would like first of all to tell Russian people who are today listening to me on a special channel. The Republic of Belarus has never had the complex S-300 PMU-1 among its weapons.

Esteemed official representative of the Russian State, you should look for clues in your own country, and not in the Republic of Belarus. I think you will find there people who will prompt you as to who is selling that complex, for how much [words indistinct] and please sort it out. Esteemed Belarusian people, [words indistinct] I have told you about the real situation. It is extremely important today that the Supreme Soviet should start dealing with practical issues and with measures which (?I), our people and our country need. It is not the time now for [word indistinct] and I am saying this again to the Supreme Soviet because tomorrow our economy can collapse (?if we do not) adopt the law on the state budget. As the head of state, I am appealing now, and has done it earlier, to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the members of the Presidium: let's convene immediately and confirm the budget and after that you can take as much time off as you like. But make it possible for me to work. Give the government a chance to prevent final ruin which you have once caused.

I insist that the session of the Supreme Soviet should convene before the New Year. For that we should convene for one day and we should adopt the law which you must adopt according to the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus. If the leadership of the Supreme Soviet turns down my request I am asking all those deputies who are prepared today to cooperate with the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

president to meet at the president's office, we must discuss without delay the most important issues and first priority directions in our work. I will work with those who will come to me and stand (?beside me). If in the next few days, the Republic of Belarus will have no budget through the fault of the Supreme Soviet, I will be forced to appeal again to the deputies and maybe to people of the Republic of Belarus for support in taking certain measures in order to prevent the final collapse of our statehood. We can really lose our statehood if we take such steps.

I have already decided for myself. I have not just taken upon myself the full volume of presidential power but also the burden of his responsibility before people. I am ready to and will work in the interests of people, for people and will be accountable to them. It is my position and I will not give it up. I am again urging those who share such an approach to stop fruitless discussions and start collective constructive work. Many deputies came to me today. Such deputies like Olga Golubovich and many others who have never supported the position of the president and they asked for one thing: Alyaksandr Rygoravich, for god's sake, your appearance today and further steps of yours should consolidate us. I respect your opinion, I have always done and will always do only what will be directed towards our consolidation. But at last, you should also understand me. I cannot bear without end when mud is thrown not just at me but also at the people who came with me. When personalities are crushed forgetting that they have loved ones, children, wives and parents.

One of my supporters has very recently approached me and asked me to let him go home and see his mother who is very ill. When he came back he said that he had hardly entered when his mother said: when I sent you, my son, to Minsk you were not a robber, but it turns out that you became one there. What can that person tell his own mother? How could he look her in the eye. I understand that politics are a dirty business but it is desirable that those politics should have as much decency as possible. I am very often asked, what image of me will be entered in history as the first President of Belarus. I answer clearly: I will enter the history in the image that Belarusian people want to have of me. The mafia, deprived of its well, has today decided to remove Lukashenka, the first Belarusian president, from power. You will not succeed in that, esteemed gentlemen. The first Belarusian president is here seriously and for long. Thank you very much for attention. See you again in several days.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Kazakhstan

Indian Delegation Visits Semipalatinsk Nuclear Reactor

LD0301161895 Almaty Kazakhstan Television Network in Kazakh 0700 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently an Indian delegation headed by Kamalesh Sharma, the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of India in Kazakhstan, visited the town of Kurchatov. The delegation visited a nuclear center. Here is a report from our correspondent:

[Unidentified correspondent] As we have already reported, the program for the visit by Kamalesh Sharma, the Indian ambassador to Kazakhstan to the Semipalatinsk region was augmented at the guest's request. Plans to visit a nuclear center in Kurchatov were included.

At the center the Indian guests were familiarized with the town, the history of the test site, and the center's foreign relations, specifically the projects being implemented in conjunction with America, Japan, and France.

Afterward, matters on establishing economic relations and creation of joint ventures were touched upon. The Indian businessmen expressed their appreciation of the proposals made by the Kurchatov people.

Later the honored guests visited the No. 3 school and familiarized themselves with the teaching methods there. The schoolchildren staged Cinderella for the guests.

After the delegation members had been shown round the town they visited the center point of the national nuclear center—the atomic reactor. The specialists acquainted the guests with the reactor's control system and, as you are can see for yourselves, showed them the inside of the station.

In addition, the specialists assured the guests of the reactor's complete safety and of the peaceful purposes for which it is used. Suffice it to say that the reactor's capacity is equal to that of the Dnepr hydroelectric power station, yet is a tenth of its size.

After talking to the specialists and scientists, Kamali Sharma spoke about his intention to submit a proposal on joint research to the Indian Government. Once they had seen Semipalatinsk, the distinguished guests left.

Nazarbayev, Officials Discuss Economic Issues

LD0401093295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0711 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Almaty January 4 TASS—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev demanded that the government "speed up the submission of bills to the national parliament, which would really promote deeper reforms".

The Kazakh leader spelled out these demands at a meeting on Tuesday [3 January] attended by Premier Akezhan Magzhan-uly Kazhegeldin, vice-premiers, the head and high-ranking officials of the president's office. The meeting examined tasks facing the republican economy in 1995.

He also issued instructions "to put every-day management of economic process on a more efficient basis at the regional and district levels and to bring every-day economic accounting in line with modern conditions of economic management".

The Kazakh president noted that the government should always remember the need for "drafting priorities of the state industrial policy and a clear-cut plan for pulling gradually national industry out of the present slump.

"The government should also take efforts to develop production capacities to put out consumer goods, to step up the republican export potential and to stimulate small and medium businesses."

The meeting also discussed some social programmes. For instance, meeting participants examined the need for "giving a new lease on life to the state housing programme".

In this connection, Nazarbayev pointed to the importance of appropriating funds so that housing banks should start their operations by this spring, and citizens who decided to build their own homes, could get appropriate credits.

Nazarbayev Urges 'Vigorous' Integration Push

MM0301145195 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Dec 94 p 2

[Interview with President Nursultan Nazarbayev by Vladimir Ardayev, in Alma-Ata (Almaty); date not given: "Nursultan Nazarbayev: Time to Get Over the Romantic Illusions..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Just before New Year, your IZVESTIYA correspondent interviewed Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

[Ardayev] Nursultan Abishevich, you are a consistent defender of the idea of integration among the peoples and states of the former Union. How would you describe the outgoing year in that regard?

[Nazarbayev] When I put forward the idea of creating the Eurasian Union, I set myself several tasks. First, to break the deadlock over the CIS. I believe that some movement has been made in this regard. We have finally formed the Interstate Economic Committee and signed an agreement setting up a free-trade zone, which is the first stage in organizing a customs union. Parliamentary collaboration has become more active. The experts have approved the pact on peace and stability in the CIS, which will clearly be discussed at the presidents' meeting in Alma-Ata at the start of 1995.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

All these things are based to a greater or lesser extent on the ideas of the Eurasian Union. There is also understanding for our approach to citizenship, particularly with regard to making the procedure for acquiring and changing citizenship as simple as possible. More constructive approaches are emerging on the question of protecting external borders. Second, my task was to formulate a general concept for the integration process, a kind of model or norm to work toward. This makes it possible to see clearly the main outlines of integration in the long term. Finally, one of the main schemes was to arouse the mass consciousness of people whose lives are affected by the success or failure of integration.

Of course, many things were not done, but I am not going to reduce the problem to the conduct of the political elites. There are objective factors creating barriers to integration. I respect the attitude of many of my colleagues who put forward perfectly sensible arguments. But the concept of the pace of play operates in politics too. I do not accept the argument that integration will occur of its own accord sooner or later. Time can be wasted here. That is why vigorous efforts are needed.

But we must not resort to extremes. Of course it is possible to restore the rigid centralized state. But that would certainly not do people a favor. The second stereotype is a faith in an instant integration into the European or, say, Asian home. It is time to get over these romantic illusions.

I see the future of the independent states being decided on a purely voluntary basis.

[Ardayev] In your opinion, what will 1995 be like? What will we be able to do away with and what will we build in the new home, and under what conditions?

[Nazarbayev] It has already become customary to cite the great Russian economist Kondratyev's idea on the model of long-term economic cycles. The analogy is weak, of course, but we are clearly standing on the threshold of a wave of integration. The first to sense this, by the way, were the businessmen, entrepreneurs, and directors. Probably this is to do with the fact that feedback in the business sphere is more effective than in politics. I hope that the will of the political elites will be channeled in this direction.

To be specific: I would like to see the results of the activity of the economic structures which have been created, in particular the Interstate Economic Committee.

Clearly the problem of simplifying the acquisition or change of citizenship will be resolved. It is to be hoped that economic legislation will be harmonized. The implementation of major economic projects between Kazakhstan and Russia will begin.

The republics are increasingly beginning to understand that the joint solution of the majority of common problems is also the constructive path which will enable us to find our place in the world.

The main thing, in my view, is that a similar process has also begun in Russia. I have met with many scientists and politicians and I felt, especially in the second half of 1994, that Russia's role and place in the new geopolitical area have begun to be reassessed. In other words, its three-year policy of "repelling everyone" is producing an understanding that this will cause political and economic harm most of all to Russia itself.

I should like to take this occasion to convey to all your readers the most sincere wishes for success, a peaceful sky, prosperity, well-being, and optimism. Be happy!

Miners Fined for 1994 Strike

LD0301132895 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Karaganda regional court has presented the Independent Trade Union of Miners with an original New Year's gift. The court has decided to award 1 million tenge from the Independent Trade Union of Miners to the Karagandaugol [Karaganda coal] company, and another 100,000 tenge to the state treasury, for the strike action that the trade union took at the beginning of last year. Three organizers of the strike have to pay a 1,200 tenge fine each.

This decision was handed down by the court at a time when a conference of official miners' trade unions has decided to declare a pre-strike situation and, if the miners' demands are not met, to hold another strike on 13 January this year.

Tajikistan

Dushanbe Urges CIS To Reinforce Afghanistan Border

LD0301135495 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1320 GMT 3 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Dushanbe, 3 Jan—The Foreign Ministry of Tajikistan has sent a letter to CIS leaders containing a request to urgently introduce additional measures to reinforce and protect the Tajik-Afghan border in line with the CIS collective security treaty singed in Tashkent in May 1992. ITAR-TASS learned this today from Zafar Saidov, the head of the information department of the Tajikistani Foreign Ministry.

He explained that the request was prompted by persistent tension on the Tajik-Afghan border where Islamic militants, who are concentrated in border areas, are continuing their armed provocations. [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Foreign Ministry Protests Opposition Bases in Afghanistan

LD0301192295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1749 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dushanbe, 3 Jan (INTERFAX)—The Foreign Ministry here has protested against the Tajik Muslim opposition being allowed to have military bases in Afghanistan.

Ministry spokesman Zafar Saidov, in an interview given to Interfax on Tuesday, accused the opposition of "regular provocations" on the Tajik-Afghan border, designed, he said, to thwart a settlement in Tajikistan and destabilize the situation in the former Soviet republic.

On Monday [2 January], six Russian troops who guarded the border were killed in a clash with a group that belonged to the Movement for the Islamic Renaissance of Tajikistan and was led by somebody named Dzhunaidullo.

Afghan border guard officials, during "recent meetings" with their Russian counterparts, pledged to prevent "illegal acts by Tajik commandos launched from Afghan territory," Saidov said.

But the Afghan border authorities "apparently have no real control of the situation and get taken in by the more intransigent part of the Tajik opposition," Saidov said.

Update Notes Nine Russian Borderguards Killed

LD0401094695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0914 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dushanbe January 4 TASS—Nine Russian borderguards were killed in a clash with gunmen of the Tajik Islamic opposition at the Kalainkhumskiy section of the Tajik-Afghan border on January 2, according to the latest reports. Earlier reports said six Russians were killed.

Members of the official commission who arrived to investigate the clash described it as a "direct armed provocation" of Tajik gunmen aimed at thwarting a political settlement of the inter-Tajik conflict and, above all, a unilateral violation of the ceasefire agreement, an officer of the Tajik Security Ministry told ITAR-TASS by telephone on Wednesday [4 January].

He stressed that the findings of the commission were brought to the attension of the Tajik leadership and the mission of U.N. permanent observers.

According to the officer, the commission consisted of representatives from Tajik Government, U.N. military observers monitoring the inter-Tajik ceasefire agreement, Lieutenant-General Anatoliy Chechulin, commander of Russian borderguards in Tajikistan as well as Russian ambassador to the republic Micheslav Senkevich.

Local Authorities Urged To Observe Election Law

LD0301151395 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0800 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] There are rumors circulating about the nomination of candidates for the post of deputy in the Supreme Assembly of the Republic of Tajikistan among the population in some districts of the republic. The newsroom has received a letter sent by Abdulmajid Dostiyev, the deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Tajikistan, and we will broadcast it for your consideration. The letter will be broadcast for the consideration of chairmen of the regions, towns, and districts in the republic:

As a result of the rumors circulating in the republic about violations of the Law on Elections to the Supreme Assembly of the Republic of Tajikistan, in particular as regards nominations of candidates for the post of deputy in the Supreme Assembly, you are asked to ensure unwavering observance of the law in all regions.

Under Article 22, Paragraph 7 of the Law of the Republic of Tajikistan On Elections to the Supreme Assembly of the Republic of Tajikistan, the selection and nomination procedures for candidates for the post of deputy are to be defined by the political party, representative body of authority, or workforce. Any restriction imposed by state authorities or officials, other than the restrictions set out in this law, is thus strictly forbidden.

Local authorities, officials, and other responsible organizations are under an obligation to assist in ensuring that this law is strictly observed in every respect. Those who break the law will be punished according to the law.

New Party of National Unity Joins Election Race

LD0301152895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1458 GMT 3 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dushanbe January 3 TASS—The Party of National Unity which was registered on Tuesday [3 January] by the Tajik Ministry of Justice, came to the political arena of the republic. Its programme provides for pulling Tajikistan out of the social and economic crisis and achieving civil peace as well as national accord by consolidating the multinational people of the republic.

Abdumalik Abdullojonov, 45, Tajik ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Russia and ex-candidate at the recent presidential elections, was elected chairman of the political council of the new party, the constituent conference of which was held on November 30 in the city of Hudzhant, the administrative centre of the Leninabad region.

He yielded 15 per cent of votes to present Tajik leader Emomali Rakhmonov at the presidential elections held on November 6. Incidentally, he won the overwhelming

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

support of his voters (up to 90 per cent) in his homeland—the Leninabad region—as well as in the Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous region.

While forming his party, Abdullojonov staked on this active part of the electorate. The programme of his party includes the main slogans of his election campaign.

As far as the political aspect is concerned, the party advocates an accelerated civilised dialogue with the Tajik opposition, broad political pluralism, observance of democratic rights and freedoms, eradication of regional separatism and integrity of the republic.

Abdullojonov's supporters see the economic revival of the republic in speeding up market reforms, ensuring real proteciton of all forms of ownership with a priority given to private property and creating conditions to accelerate the process of privatisation, more close relations with countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States, above all Russia and Uzbekistan.

Prominent Tajik economists and politologists participated in compiling the party programme. The party plans to implement its programme through direct participation of its representatives in executive, legislative and judicial arms of power at all levels, above all at the top echelons.

For this purpose, primary party organisations in localities, right after their registration, will start to nominate the candidates to the new national parliament, the elections to which will be held approximately next February 26.

Other political organisations in the republic also actively joined the election race for parliamentary seats. These are the Communist Party which has (according to estimates of its leaders) over 70,000 members, the recently registered people's party headed by First Deputy Speaker of the Tajik Parliament Abdumadjid Dostiyev and the party of political and economic revival uniting a few supporters from among representatives of small and medium businesses, which has no real influence on the political life in the republic.

Turkmenistan

Government Hopes Kiev Will Repay Debts

LD3012180494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1558 GMT 30 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ashkhabad [Ashgabat], Dec 30 (INTERFAX)—The Turkmen Government has sent to Kiev a telegram which contains a wish to the Ukrainian authorities to fulfil Ukraine's commitments and repay debts. Deputy Turkmen Prime Minister Valery Otchertsov told Interfax on Friday that the Ukrainian debt, mainly for Turkmen gas, amounts to $1 billion.

On November 5, following the talks in Ashkhabad between the two countries' presidents, Saparmurad Niyazov and Leonid Kuchma, Turkmenistan decided to reschedule the repayment of the Ukrainian debt for 1993, which amounts to $713.4 million. The debt was restructured as credit for seven years. Ukraine pledged before December 10 to pay $300 million to Turkmenistan as debt repayment for 1994 and for current gas supplies.

However, Kiev has not fulfilled the commitments, said Otchertsov. More than that, Ukraine stopped supplies to Turkmenistan of consumer goods and foodstuffs envisaged by the bilateral agreement. "This seriously aggravates the economic situation in Turkmenistan, [no closing quotation mark as received] said the deputy prime minister. The work of the oil and gas industry, which does not receive necessary means, including in hard currency, may be hampered.

He said that Turkmenistan hopes for Ukraine's common sense. "Gas supplies suspended in November, in which both sides are interested, may resume still in 1994," said Otchertsov.

Details of 1995 Budget Approved by People's Council

LD2912172494 Ashgabat TURKMEN PRESS in Russian 1330 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The People's Council [Khalk Maslakhaty] of Turkmenistan on the State Budget of Turkmenistan for 1995:

The People's Council of Turkmenistan resolves that:

1. The State Budget of Turkmenistan for 1995 is approved.

2. Revenues of the State Budget of Turkmenistan are set at 63.8 billion manats and expenditures at 63.1 billion manats. Revenues exceed expenditures by 670 million manats.

3. It is established that:

(a) Approximately 60 percent of total budget expenditures are to be directed toward raising prosperity and social support for the population, including the following:
- —maintenance of low prices for goods and services: 10.8 billion manats
- —construction of social-sector buildings and housing: 10.7 billion manats
- —education: 4.9 billion manats
- —pensions and benefits: 3.1 billion manats
- —health care and physical culture: 3 billion manats

(b) 4.5 billion manats, or 7.3 percent of total budget expenditure, is to be allocated for funding defense.

4. The Cabinet of Ministers of Turkmenistan is to be charged with:

- —establishing norms for the funds assigned to the budgets of the regions and the city of Ashkhabad [Ashgabat] out of profit tax, value added tax, and the tax on

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

use of underground resources, as well as the size of the subsidies to be allocated to the regions from the centralized budgets;

—establishing for ministries and departments the plan for tax revenues into the State Budget and allocations for regions from the centralized budget of Turkmenistan for 1995.

5. Heads of ministries, departments, enterprises, associations, and organizations are to be committed to ensuring the full receipt of revenues for products that are sold, work that is done, and services rendered, and to execute the set taxation plans.

The main State Tax Inspectorate of Turkmenistan is to put a stop to cases of concealing profits from taxation, to make fuller use of its right to fine enterprises that breach tax legislation, and to pay particular attention to enterprises in the nonstate sector of the economy in this regard.

6. The heads of regions, districts, and towns are to ensure that budgetary funds are used strictly for their intended purposes, and where necessary to disburse additional expenditures within the limits of the relevant total expenditure budget.

7. The Ministry of Economy and Finance of Turkmenistan is instructed to review the annual revenue and expenditure plans of self-funding ministries, departments, enterprises, associations, and organizations, including quarterly allocations; and to analyze the effectiveness of the expenditure of state funds.

8. The Cabinet of Ministers of Turkmenistan is to make the necessary adjustments to the State Budget of Turkmenistan taking changes in economic conditions into account.

Uzbekistan

World Bank Official Expresses Satisfaction With Reforms

LD0301141395 Tashkent BIZNES VESTNIK VOSTOKA in Russian 30 Dec 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] Yukon Khuang [name as transliterated], the director of the World Bank's department for Russia and Central Asia, who was on an official visit to our country, expressed satisfaction with the progress of economic reforms in Uzbekistan during a conversation with President Islam Karimov. According to the bank's own information, Uzbekistan's economic indicators far exceed the CIS average.

"The World Bank is watching your leadership's activities closely, and has to stress that the reforms that it is implementing are highly effective," Mr. Khuang said. He also announced the bank's intention to render Uzbekistan financial assistance on preferential terms to stabilize its national currency and implement specific projects.

The first major loan to support privatization and social-sector reforms may be granted as early as at the beginning of 1995. The bank is particularly interested in the development of the agricultural and oil and gas sectors, in the program for ecological revival, and post-privatization assistance for enterprises.

From the [BIZNES VESTNIK VOSTOKA] editors: For the past year we have more than once published expert assessments by foreign analysts, who assessed Uzbekistan's economic prospects as quite good.

For the moment, naturally, the issue is simply that the crisis is not as deep as it is in the other independent states. Uzbekistan has managed to reduce to a minimum the decline in production, which has become a true scourge for other CIS states. It is perhaps this indicator that best characterizes our current economic state.

We must, however, bear in mind that our country is still in crisis and that the financial, consultancy, and information assistance that the World Bank is prepared to extend to us is of immense significance.

Central Election Commission Summarizes Election Results

LD0401111795 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the Central Election Commission for elections to the Supreme Assembly of the Republic of Uzbekistan:

A scheduled meeting of the Central Election Commission of the Republic of Uzbekistan was held on 3 January 1995. The meeting was chaired by Commission Chairman Qudrat Ahmedov.

In keeping with Article 11 of the Law on Elections, the results of the elections carried out on 25 December 1994 were summed up.

It will be recalled that 250 constituency election commissions and 7,222 polling station commissions were set up to organize and conduct the elections. Political parties and local authorities nominated 634 candidates for the 250 posts of deputy in the supreme representative and legislative body. These included 243 candidates from the People's Democratic Party, 141 candidates from the Homeland Progress party, and 250 candidates from local representative bodies. They all were registered by the Central Election Commission. There were 139 constituencies where three candidates stood, 106 constituencies in which there were two candidates, and five constituencies with one candidate each.

Across the republic, 11,248,464 people were entered on the electoral roll; 10,526,654 people—or, 93.6 percent of the electorate—participated in the elections. In the city of Tashkent, 86.2 percent of the electorate took part in the elections, in Andizhan Region 96 percent, in Bukhara Region 94.6 percent, in Dzhizak Region 95.2 percent, in Navoi Region 86.9 percent, Namangan

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Region 97.2 percent, in Samarkand Region 93.8 percent, Syrdariya Region 95 percent, in Surkhandarya Region 94.4 percent, in Tashkent Region 89.5 percent, in Ferghana Region 94.9 percent, in Khorezm Region 96.9 percent, in Kashkadariya Region 96.9 percent, and in the Republic of Karakalpakistan 96 percent.

Voting took place in all 250 constituencies.

Deputies to the Supreme Assembly were elected in 205 constituencies, including 55 deputies from the People's Democratic Party, six deputies from Homeland Progress, and 144 deputies from the local councils.

People's Democratic Party candidates won 30.6 percent and Homeland Progress candidates won 9.8 percent of the votes cast by that part of the electorate that participated in the ballot. In other words, they passed the 5 percent mark set by Article 46 of the Law on Elections to the Supreme Assembly of the Republic of Uzbekistan and were thus deemed to have been elected.

In 39 constituencies in which there were three candidates standing, none of these won a majority of the votes cast. Under Article 43 of the Law on Elections, a repeat vote is to be held in these constituencies on 8 January 1995. In six constituencies where two candidates were standing and neither of them was elected, repeat elections will be conducted on 22 January 1995.

It was stressed by the Central Election Commission that the elections to the Supreme Assembly were carried out in an organized manner everywhere, in full accordance with the requirements of the law and with a high level of activity among citizens.

Citizens from 12 ethnic groups living in our country were elected to the highest body of state power.

The election of deputies to the Supreme Assembly represented a major step in developing the democratic process and establishing a law-based state in independent Uzbekistan.

Having reviewed the documents sent in by the constituency election commissions, and on the basis of Article 11, Paragraph 12, the Central Election Commission has decided to register all the deputies elected and to publish the list of elected deputies in the republican and corresponding local press.

Information on the election of deputies to the remaining 45 deputy posts will be published separately in due course.

The meeting also reviewed other matters falling within the competence of the Central Election Commission.

Issue of New Passports Begins

LD0301155195 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0600 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] It is well known that one of the most important signs of political independence is when a state has its own national passport. Under an edict by the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan on introducing a new passport system in Uzbekistan, the issue of new passports to citizens began yesterday [2 January].

As the head of department for travel in and out of the country and for citizenship at the Uzbek Interior Ministry, Police Colonel G. Yuldashev said, the new national passport was created out of practical studies of the passports of the most developed countries and by adding and adapting their best features to conditions in our republic. Whereas passports used to be filled out by hand, modern typewriters are now used to record information in them. To this end over 300 employees have been trained by German experts in how to operate this equipment.

The best feature of the passport is that a citizen equipped with one may travel abroad freely. Interior Ministry offices will put a stamp in the passport for this purpose, granting a two-year long permit to visit any country.

The passport has 32 pages and contains detailed information on the citizen including his/her children and place of residence. It has 21 pages with space for foreign visas. There is a note on the last page that says that the passport is the property of the Republic of Uzbekistan and that the holder is under the protection of the Republic of Uzbekistan. This means that our compatriots are politically protected.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Armenia

No Official Explanation for Halting Radio Liberty Relays

NC0301193095 Yerevan SNARK in English 1055 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan, January 3 (SNARK)—The leadership of radio-station "Liberty" did not received any written explanation of the official bodies of Armenia on reasons of Armenian editors office of "Liberty" broadcasting stoppage, SNARK reporter was informed in the management of Armenian service of radio-station "Liberty".

One hour broadcasting of the radio-station on Armenian language had been transmitted by Yerevan city radionet daily during half year, however from December the leadership of Armenian State Teleradio Company stopped broadcasting without any explanation.

According to reliable sources, the decision on unilateral annulment of an agreement, signed with radio-station "Liberty", was adopted according to decree of the President Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

The President Ter-Petrosyan told SNARK reporter several months ago, that "Armenian editors office of radio-station 'Liberty' has no connection with the idea of liberty".

Joint Armenian-Russian Command Post for 1995

NC0301210495 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1900 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A joint command post will be established in the new year to ensure coordination between the Armenian National Army and the Russian army unit stationed in the republic. As was stated at a news conference by State Minister for Defense Vazgen Sargisyan, this is being done as part of the process of resolving a number of practical problems in order to ensure coordinated operations and to prepare the ground for the joint military exercises to be held by the two countries' armies in Armenia.

President's 28 Dec Speech on ARF, Part I

NC0301185595 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2045 GMT 2 Jan 95

["First part" of a rebroadcast of an address by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan in Yerevan, first carried on Yerevan television on 28 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear compatriots, on the eve of the new year I am appealing to you on an unpleasant occasion, unfortunately. The acts of terrorism of a political and criminal nature that have been committed in Armenia of late, the violence against representatives of the press, and the inefficiency of the law enforcement organs in protecting citizens' lives have naturally provoked immense anger and discontent among almost all strata of society, something that seriously threatens to engender a feeling of insecurity on the part of the population and of distrust towards the state.

One cannot but be concerned by the fact that the emerging situation, being subjected to various exploitations, is creating an opportunity for inflaming the political atmosphere in the republic. This has become evident from a number of arrests by the law enforcement organs in December, particularly the perfidious murder of Hambardzum Galustian, a member of the Karabakh Committee and former mayor of Yerevan. I am not at all inclined to explain that as resulting from the ulterior motives of some political forces, and I have no intention to make assessments or attach labels. At the same time, I am obliged to note that irresponsible statements made out of ignorance or confusion not only do not help in uncovering of the crimes committed, they unnecessarily compound social tensions.

While recognizing that the anxiety and discontent of the citizens is justified, I at the same time consider it unforgivable to unjustifiably disregard the huge amount of positive work carried out by the Armenian law enforcement organs, particularly by the Interior Ministry, in the maintenance of public order. Despite everything, the republic's authorities have succeeded in neutralizing the illegal armed formations, rendering all the known bands ineffective, ensuring the security of the roads, and preventing manifestations of mass hooliganism. These are serious achievements which set Armenia apart from a number of former Soviet republics in a significant manner.

If our republic has indeed achieved some success in terms of ensuring general law and order, this unfortunately cannot be said about the uncovering of acts of terrorism. Unless decisive measures are taken, terrorism might become the most serious danger threatening the political stability of the republic.

However, the energetic operations carried out by the Armenian Republic's State Directorate for National Security in the last few months inspires hopes of substantial progress in uncovering acts of terror and other organized crimes.

Following prolonged preparatory work and with joint operation by the Armenian State Directorate For National Security and Russian Federal Intelligence Service, a criminal group was exposed in both Moscow and Yerevan on 2 December, a group that was engaged in the international narcotics business on the Beirut-Yerevan-Moscow route, with links to other countries.

Following arrests and searches, almost five kg of heroin, a large amount of arms and ammunition, explosives, radio equipment, forged identity cards, as well as the huge archive of a secret intelligence organization—506 computer discs, and scores of handwritten notebooks—were seized.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The examination of the archives and the confessions of the detained members of the aforementioned criminal group revealed a frightening underground organization, on which I will dwell in my present address.

Let me hasten to add that, respecting the principle of innocence until proven guilty, in my address I will not mention the names of any of the criminals. I will simply present the items in that file. Though most of these items relate to specific crimes and persons, they are coded and therefore do not in any way violate the principle of innocence until proven guilty. These items here on my desk are only part of that archive. Starting tomorrow they will be published in HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN every day.

This underground organization, which in the seized documents is called Dro [alias for the deceased Drastamat Kanayan, a former leader of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, ARF] Special Service, was set up in the 1950's by that Bureau, the supreme organ of the ARF. It has branches in a number of countries around the world. It was established in Armenia in 1992 and operated with the knowledge of the ARF's Central Committee in Armenia. Two diaspora Armenians headed the service's branch in Armenia. Most of its nearly 50 members are citizens of Armenia, but there are also citizens of foreign countries. The Armenian branch has been engaged in securing funds for the party, antistate intelligence work, lawless economic activity, the international narcotics business, and acts of terrorism in which a number of political murders were committed.

In fact, the members of the Special Service have been informed in writing from the outset that, and here I quote, for the Dro structure there are no moral restraints in the way of achieving its objectives; or, the enlisting comrade should know well that he is entering a structure the nature of whose activity is strictly prohibited by state laws; or, the aim of the ARF's Dro structure is to search for material means to keep our party strong and powerful. These means could be legal or illegal.

The Dro Special Service, which as I said is spread over a number of other countries around the world, is structured like a military company. The branch in Armenia has the status of a battalion. It is made up of platoons and special militia groups.

Now I will show you the by-laws and the structure of that service. [sound of shuffling paper] Please. The by-law of the Dro Special Service, its aim, the Dro administration, the commander of the Dro, head of the platoon, head of the Dro school and its cadres, operations chief of the platoon, brigade master, (?trainer), [word indistinct], his assistant, the network, members of the network.

Here is how the Dro's platoons are divided. Each member has a code name and cipher. The central platoon of the company, central platoon of the battalion, then comes the commander, the executive authority, chief of staff, and cadres and so on.

There is the economic platoon, intelligence platoon, network platoon, moles platoon—this is the platoon of the spies—special platform, isolation platoon, and so on.

The members of the service are known as fighters. I will now show you the ranks of the fighters: Novice fighter, second rank fighter, first rank fighter, sergeant fighter, fighter, lieutenant fighter, chief fighter, captain fighter, major fighter, lieutenant-colonel fighter, and colonel fighter. This last rank is conferred by the ARF's Bureau. The rest are conferred by the commanders of the relevant subunits.

I already stated that all the members of that service appear under code names, a special codification system has been worked out. Because this is a secret archive, there are only three copies of this document, which have been kept by the service's relevant organs. We have only one of the copies. There is also a key to the codes. These codes have been fully deciphered. This has greatly facilitated our investigation. Here is a dictionary for the codes, codes for membership and so on.

Upon enlisting in this structure, the fighters take an oath, which is called a contract. Now I will read the text of that contract. Here I will cover up the applicant's name. I, so and so, am voluntarily giving my full agreement to selflessly work in the ARF's Dro intelligence structure, whose entire activity is based on the ARF's ideological foundation and serves the interests of the Armenian people. With this contract, I assume the responsibility of following all the regulations and principles of the structure, with which I have become familiar and learned, and I am also obliged to bear the consequences of any deviation on my part from these regulations.

Let us now see what it means to bear the consequences of deviating from any of the regulations. This simply means various punishments. A whole list of punishments have been drawn up, starting from reprimand, to disciplinary measures, to punishments. From reprimand and admonition to imprisonment, suspension from membership, beating to the point of the breaking the bones. This is then followed by three X punishments. These are apparently the most severe punishments. The death penalty cannot be excluded. Its existence is confirmed in these documents.

After signing the contract, the fighter fills in a personal application. I again request you not to show the codenames. We have in our possession 15 such filled-in personal application forms by which anyone enlisted in the service becomes a fighter. This is a very interesting application form. Surname, name, date of birth, place of birth, residence or address, place of work, position, family status, physical shape—height, weight, whether he is left- handed or right-handed, uses eyeglasses or not, shoe size, whether circumcised—when did you become a member of the ARF, have you worked in intelligence structures, who recruited you into this structure—that is, who is your godfather—and then comes the question: Have you killed anyone or not? There are three probable

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

replies to this question: On the battlefield, in a street brawl, and during a terroristic operation. On this particular application a yes reply has been given to this question. On two of these 15 applications, two of the fighters had committed acts of terror before enlisting in this service. They replied yes to this question. Another one killed a person during a street brawl. And, probably other murders will soon be uncovered.

Then come questions on the use of narcotic materials and alcohol, inclination towards women, and so on.

Azerbaijan

Democratic Congress Issues Statement on Chechnya

NC0301211495 Baku TURAN in English 1459 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, January 3 (TURAN)—"Although world public demands putting an end to bloodshed in Chechnya, settlement of conflict by political means and necessity of observation of human rights, Chechnya crisis is being settled by military methods as definite circles of Russian Federation wish that", the statement of the Democratic Congress adopted yesterday reads.

The Democratic Congress mentions that bloody events in Chechnya have already brought thousands of wounded and killed people.

The statement of the Democratic Congress also reads that practically all hot-beds of the globe situated in the region with Muslim population. "Russia's position towards Muslim in the conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh, Bosnia and now on the North Caucasus testify to its religious intolerance and intention to turn these conflicts into religious confrontations", the Democratic Congress writes.

The Democratic Congress called on the Russian Government to settle the conflict on the North Caucasus peacefully.

Five largest opposition parties of Azerbaijan: Musavat, the Popular Front, Democratic party, Party of National Freedom and "Ana Torpag" [Motherland] are included in the Democratic Congress.

Infiltrators Crossing to Chechnya Denied

NC0301204795 Baku TURAN in English 1459 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, January 3 (TURAN)—"After the beginning the Chechen crisis on the Russian-Azeri border there were not facts of detain the Azeri military men, sent for the conducting military actions in Chechnya," said at today's press-conference Abbas Ali Novruzov, commander of border troops of Azerbaijan. He noted that after the war in Chechnya he met twice with the Commander of Caucasus Special Border Okrug. "Both times on my inquiry to present facts, confirming the entering the hire-men from Azerbaijan to the territory of Chechnya, the General of Russian troops Zemtsov answered that he had not such facts," said Novruzov.

He also said that an agreement on joint actions in the border zone of both countries with a purpose of prevention the possible provocations of illegal armed formations, was obtained.

"I think that closure of borders by Russia is temporary and it will be lifted soon as it causes damage even to Russia herself," said Novruzov.

Responding TURAN on the situation on Azeri-Iranian border the Commander said that "presently Iran is intensively trading with Armenia, but it is internal affair of Iran." "We know that on the 132 kilometre of Iranian-Azeri border, which is occupied by Armenia, Armenia's flags are raised." According to Novruzov the trade between Iran and Armenia is done mainly across the bridge, in Megri town. "The Armenians are disassembling and taking away to Iran a great deal of constructions and enterprises from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan," said Novruzov.

Responding the question on possibility of joint with Russia guard of Azeri-Iranian border Novrusov said, "we are sovereign state and there is not necessity for our borders to be guarded by the military men of other state." He stressed that "there can be only technical help by Russia for reliable guard of Azerbaijan's border."

Official Deplores Armenian Occupation of Shusha, Lachin

NC0301210695 Baku TURAN in English 1459 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, January 3 (TURAN)—"Head of the OSCE's [CSCE] Minsk group Anders Bewner is to visit the region in near future. But prior to that, in accordance with the decision of the Budapest summit, the issue of the co-chiefs of the Minsk conference should be solved," TURAN was told by State Advisor for Foreign Politics Vafa Guluzade.

Guluzade noted that "stumbling stone" of the negotiations on the settlement the Armenian-Azeri conflict is a liberation of Shusha and Lachin. According to him, the fact that this issue remains unsolved prevents signing the Major Political Agreement (MPA). "In fact, the MPA is a schedule and mechanisms of liberation of the occupied Azeri territories and the Parties should sign this very schedule. But Armenia refuses to liberate Shusha and Lachin, but earlier or later they will have to agree," noted Guluzade.

The State advisor noted that according to the decision of the Budapest summit, the OSCE's peacekeeping forces could be sent to the region only after signing the MPA. "In conformity with the mandate of the OSCE this

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

agreement should be signed by Armenia, Azerbaijan as well as representatives of Armenian and Azeri communities of Nagorno-Karabakh," said Vafa Guluzade.

Concerning the peacekeeping forces, they should be formed within several months. Commenting on the Russian President's special envoy Vladimir Kazimirov on the necessity of the warring parties to appeal to the UN Security Council for starting the peacekeeping operation, Vafa Guluzade said: "For the beginning the peacekeeping operation of the OSCE the appeal of warring parties to the Security Council is not needed."

Defense Begins Presentation in Ganja Trial

NC0301204595 Baku TURAN in English 1459 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, January 3 (TURAN)—Today in the office of Musavat a first session of social committee for defence of the rights of the accused on Ganja events 1993. The Committee includes 50 representatives of intelligence, political organisations and movements, and was founded on December 30, 1994.

Co-chiefs of the Committee Najaf Najafov, the deputy of the Supreme Council of the Republic and Sabit Bagirov, former president of SOCAR [State Oil Company of the Azerbaijan Republic] were elected today.

A decision [was made] on the issue of press-release in every two days, on the appeals to prominent statement on the trial, briefing the international institutions for human rights and meetings with representatives of diplomatic missions of foreign countries.

More than 10,00 signatures were for the defence of former leaders of Elchibey's government accused of the criminal [acts] against people were gathered.

U.S. State Department Expresses Concern

NC0301201295 Baku TURAN in English 1459 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, January 3 (TURAN)—On the eve of the New Year Azerbaijan's Ambassador to the United States, Hafiz Pashayev, has been invited to the U.S. State Department for the meeting with the Chief of Department for Newly Independent States, James Collins, press-centre of Musavat Party reports.

James Collins told Pashayev that "the U.S. Government is concerned about juridical violations on the trial on June events of 1993 in Ganja and attempts of the judge to pass an illegal verdict", the press-centre reports.

James Collins said that "the issue on human rights protection is one of the basic in the U.S. foreign policy".

Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry neither refuted nor acknowledged this information. At the same time the American Embassy in Baku acknowledged this fact.

Azerbaijani Opposition Figures Criticize Aliyev

NC0301221495 Ankara TURKISH DAILY NEWS in English 30 Dec 94 pp 1, A8

[Report by Adnan Caglayan]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/Ankara—Shaken by internal conflict, war with Armenia and the heavy shadow of Russia hanging over it, Azerbaijan is passing through the most crucial period of its four year old independence struggle.

Trying to find a way out, Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev announced that general elections will be held in July and was immediately faced by the opposition's democratization demands. These demands found Turkish support from Parliament Speaker Husamettin Cindoruk, who urged Aliyev, during his Dec. 26-28 visit to Baku, to create a democratic environment prior to the upcoming elections.

Ali Kerimli, deputy chairman of the main opposition popular Front, told the TURKISH DAILY NEWS [TDN] that it was not possible to talk about democracy under the Aliyev administration. The Azeri Popular Front was the main group supporting nationalist former President Abulfaz Elchibey, who was forced to step down in June 1993 following a rebellion against his rule. Elchibey was replaced by Aliyev.

"He has no idea about democracy. Thirty seven of our total 63 branches have been closed down, including our headquarters in Baku, by the government. There are 66 top officials of Popular front under arrest. Tens of our members are in hiding. We have no voice on television or radio. There is a strong censorship. Our newspapers are printed with numerous difficulties created by the administration. This not the system which we have fought for," he said.

Another opposition leader, Isa Kamber of the Musavat Party, told the TDN that they were not expecting democratic developments in Azerbaijan. "It is not pessimism it is a realism. Aliyev will hold an election but it will not be a democratic one," Kamber concluded.

Cindoruk's visit to Baku coincided with Kamber's trial. He is charged with "resisting the forces of former Prime Minister Suret Guseynov, who toppled Elchibey" in 1993. Guseynov, himself, was sacked earlier this year, but Kamber's trial went on. The prosecutor asked for seven years imprisonment for Kamber, who is a former Parliament speaker, in Wednesday's hearing on Wednesday [28 December]. It is expected that the court will announce its convict on him, today.

Turkish sources told TDN that Cindoruk impressed on Aliyev that to jail an opposition leader at this critical juncture would be disastrous for Azerbaijan and suggested that Kamber be pardoned.

The opposition is also not happy with Aliyev's mode of governing the country. Kerimli said that Aliyev gave concessions to countries which put the most pressure on Baku.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

"He gave a 10 percent share in Azeri oil to the Russian Lukoil company because he could not resist Moscow's pressure. Later, Tehran put pressure on Baku, and the same story was repeated. He gave five percent to Iranians. Now, they are talking about increasing Russia's share again. If it continues like this, there will be nothing left for the Azeris," he concluded. Kerimli said they were happy with Turkey's support for Azerbaijan against external attacks. "Turkey has the smallest share in the oil consortium because it is just helping Azerbaijan but is not asking any return. We consider Turkey's noble attitude as a real brotherhood," he said.

Kerimli voiced his uneasiness over the latest developments in Chechnya. "Russia's next target could be Azerbaijan. They can easily create turmoil here. The Russians have thousands of agents in our country. Democratic powers have to be in power in Baku, otherwise, we will not be able to protect our independence against Russians. Moscow wants Baku under its strict control," he noted.

He also pointed out that Azerbaijan's still fledgling economy faces "even bigger hardships that may bring about a deeper crisis if the necessary steps are not taken as soon as possible." The people of Azerbaijan are suffering from hunger.

"There are 800,000 people in Azerbaijan living on a monthly salary of only 90 cents which buys only 8 kg of bread. There must be a democratic government which can take the necessary economic steps and protect the Azeri nation's interests," he urged.

Georgia

Premier Says EU Failing to Fully Implement Trade Agreement

LD0301165495 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1410 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 3 Jan—Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia has said that the European Union [EU] has failed to fulfil some clauses in an agreement which it has signed. If violations on the part of the EU continue Georgia will withdraw its obligations to certain parties, in particular Armenia and Azerbaijan, concerning the timely delivery of goods.

According to Patsatsia, the EU is not adhering to a special timetable for Batumi and Poti ports, which it has agreed with the Transcaucasian republics. "No one has the right to breach this timetable, which has been approved at the EU headquarters in Brussels," Patsatsia said.

Swiss Official Visits, Discusses Political Situation

LD0301173095 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1510 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ernst Muhlemann, an envoy of the chairman of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Swiss parliament and the speaker for issues of allowing Russia into the European Union, arrived in Tbilisi yesterday, 2 January. Yesterday Mr. Muhlemann met the members of the Georgian parliament commission for internal matters. They discussed the prospects of allowing the former Soviet republics into the European Union. They also discussed the political situation in Georgia.

Today, Mr. Muhlemann met the Commander of the Russian Armed Forces deployed in the Transcaucasus, members of the parliament Commisson for Defense Matters, members of the Commission for Human Rights and Interethnic Relations, Deputy Prime Minister Teimuraz Basilia, and the representatives of the CSCE and the UN missions in Georgia.

Shevardnadze Proposes Joint Border Controls With Russia

LD0401103495 Tbilisi SAKINFORM in Russian 2251 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [no dateline as received]—Addressing a meeting of the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers, head of state Eduard Shevardnadze has expressed concern over a statement by Sergey Stepashin, director of the Russian Federal Counterintelligence Service, carried by Ostankino TV. Stepashin had told a news conference in Mozdok that there were no Abkhaz militants in Chechnya fighting for Dudayev.

Shevardnadze said: According to our information, which, by the way, has recently been confirmed by Colonel General Georgiy Kondratyev, Russia's first deputy defense minister, there are camps on Abkhaz territory where militants are being trained to be sent to Groznyy.

Considering the special importance of stepping up border protection in connection with developments in Chechnya, Shevardnadze said that the Georgian border troops command should raise with the Russian border troops command the issue of joint protection—as is done on the border with Turkey—of certain stretches of the [Russian-Georgian] border that are currently controlled only by Russian border guards. He said that especially the Georgian-Russian border in the area of the Psou River and the Roki tunnel should be placed under strict joint control.

Headquarters Set Up To Monitor Chechnya Border

LD0401115895 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1000 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 4 Jan—An operational headquarters has been established in Tbilisi to monitor the situation on the border between Georgia and Chechnya and to prevent militants from crossing from Georgia to the North Caucasus. The headquarters includes officials from the Ministries of Internal Affairs,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Security, and Defense. Defense Minister Vardiko Nadibaidze was appointed chief of the headquarters.

Chechen Refugees Arrive; Shevardnadze Orders Assistance

LD0301144295 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1410 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 3 Jan [as received]—On 2 January, at approximately 1500, 200 citizens of Chechnya crossed over the Chechen-Georgian border. Besides the civilian population there are wounded Chechen fighters among the refugees. According to unvarified information the refugees found shelter with the native Kist [North Caucasian] people. An IBERIA correspondent learned that Georgian families in Kakheti [east Georgia] gave shelter to a group of refugees.

Head of state Eduard Shevardnadze issued a special edict ordering the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia to render any kind of assistance to the refugees from the Republic of Chechnya.

Nadareishvili on Rival Abkhaz Parliament

LD0301135195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian at 0800 GMT on 3 January broadcasts a two-minute interview with Georgian Deputy Prime Minister Tamaz Nadareishvili about a "session of the Supreme Council of Abkhazia," which opens in Tbilisi tomorrow, 4 January. The interviewer introduces Nadareishvili as first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Abkhazia.

Nadareishvili starts by discussing the agenda of tomorrow's session: "Very important issues will be discussed tomorrow. The first issue on the agenda concerns our future work. We must decide how the Supreme Council of Abkhazia should work and what we should do to hold our sessions in Sukhumi in the near future, not in Tbilisi."

Nadareishvili says that the session would also tackle the problems of refugees from Abkhazia: "A lot needs to be done to ensure their return. People returning to their homeland today will be returning to empty places. According to our information, almost all houses belonging to Georgians in Gali Rayon, Ochamchire Rayon and, especially, Gulripshi Rayon have been burned down. A similar situation is in Gantiadi and Leselidze."

Nadareishvili goes on to discuss the legal status of the Supreme Council of Abkhazia: "The Supreme Council of Abkhazia is the only legitimate body in the autonomous republic of Abkhazia because it has been elected by the people, including those who were later displaced. They include Georgians, Russians, Abkhaz, Armenians—in other words, people who lived on the territory of Abkhazia for hundreds of years."

Nadareishvili concluded by saying that the Supreme Council deputies had a responsible job as they would "probably have to be the first to enter the occupied territory."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Latvia

Protest Filed With Russia Over Remaining Military Families

WS0401101395 Tallinn BNS in English 1603 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga, Jan 03, BNS—Latvian Foreign Ministry officials handed over a note to Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Rannikh Tuesday [3 January] complaining that families of Russian military retirees have failed to leave the Baltic country by the end of 1994.

The ministry said it hopes that Russia will settle the issue without further delay but it, simultaneously, reserves the right to treat the mentioned persons in compliance with the Latvian law.

"Although the Latvian government showed its good will by allowing military retirees who were discharged after Jan. 28, 1992, to stay in Latvia for a certain time, we found out with regret that Russia has failed to carry out the necessary measures to settle the issue as soon as possible," according to the note.

The ministry also expects Russia to follow up its international commitments and immediately present full information about the said category of military persons and their family members who had to leave Latvia by Dec. 31.

Russia should also inform Latvia about the deadlines and order for repatriation of these persons to Russia.

The note underscores that Latvia has repeatedly focused Russia's attention on its failure to observe Latvian-Russian agreements on social protection of military pensioners.

Presidential Adviser on 'Absurd' Russian Defense Setup

LD0301193295 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2100 GMT 2 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Here are the thoughts of Colonel Dainis Turlais, adviser to the state president of Latvia, on internal Russian political events relating to the military activity in Chechnya.

[begin Turlais recording] With Grachev as the minister of defense, Russia is in an absurd, illogical situation, which does not exist in any other country of the world, where the minister of defense is a military person. He is the leader of the army, and at the same time, as a minister, he is without doubt a politician. And the (?strict doctrine) which I have always followed is that a person who is in uniform must never get involved in politics. Well, here we see it: the army getting involved in politics. Because one important question, of course, is (?whether we can) predict a solution [words indistinct] for the Russian Federation [words indistinct]. And another significant question is about the political consequences. Grachev has only been (?conducting his policy) from the White House, and he has no way of going back—will he have to resign, or carry out these orders? [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Lithuania

Border Talks With Belarus Open

WS0401092095 Tallinn BNS in English 1345 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Jan 03, BNS—A round of Lithuanian-Belarusian talks on border demarcation and delimitation began Tuesday [3 January] in Vilnius.

Negotiators are expected to initial a bilateral border agreement and to approve the remaining cartographic material.

A joint Lithuanian-Belarusian commission earlier determined the whole length of the border between the two countries and prepared border maps for signing.

The delegations in Vilnius are headed by Lithuanian Deputy Foreign Minister Rimantas Sidlauskas and his Belarusian counterpart Stanislaw Ahurtsow.

Border Agreement Initialled

LD0401115695 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Lithuania and Belarus initialled a draft agreement on the state border. The state border lines were endorsed and border maps were signed at a meeting of the delegations in Vilnius on Tuesday [3 January], Lithuanian television reports.

According to the head of the Lithuanian delegation, Rimantas Sidlauskas, secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the border with neighboring Belarus will be correct. This view was supported by Deputy Foreign Minister Stanislaw Agurtsow, head of the Belarusian delegation.

Russia Reportedly Not Informed About Military Transit Rules

LD0301140595 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Beginning 1 January, transit of military cargoes by foreign states through the territory of Lithuania should take place in accordance with the rules endorsed by the Lithuanian Government on 3 October 1994.

However, states LETUVOS RYTAS, by yesterday, a note on the coming into force of these rules had not been dispatched to the Russian side. Asked by the newspaper

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

why Russia has not been informed through the diplomatic channels, Albinas Januska, secretary of the Lithuanian foreign minister, replied that this was the case for various reaaons, but declined to name them.

Representatives of various Seimas factions gathered today in the office of President Algirdas Brazauskas to discuss military transit. As is known, the right-wing parliamentary opposition is categorically against the legalization of Russian military transit through Lithuania by way of an agreement, stating that transit should be carried out only in accordance with the rules endorsed by the Lithuanian Government. These rules should be observed by all countries without exception, and without any other conditions or individual agreements.

According to Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the right-wing parliamentary opposition, an agreement on military transit between Lithuania and Russia would help Russia to maintain a large military base in the Kaliningrad region.

Russia paid Lithuania 4.2 million litas for permission to use its military transport in 1994. This comprises approximately four percent of income obtained by all rail cargo transport through the territory of Lithuania.

Seized Uranium Analyzed, High Radiation Levels Denied

WS0401093095 Tallinn BNS in English 1603 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Jan 03, BNS—The uranium seized two weeks ago in the Lithuanian city of Kaunas can be used as fuel in nuclear reactors, according to expert conclusions announced Tuesday [3 January].

Experts established that the 8 kg of radioactive substance seized by undercover security agents is a mixture of uranium 238 and uranium 235. Vidmantas Remeikis, assistant director of the Lithuanian Physics Institute, said the material is suitable for use in Soviet-made RBMK (Chernobyl-type) reactors.

Investigators suppose that there may be a link between the seizure in Kaunas and the mysterious disappearance of a nuclear fuel rod from Lithuania's Ignalina nuclear power plant last year. The fuel rod is said to have contained about 100 kg of uranium.

According to another theory, the confiscated uranium may have been stolen from a Russian nuclear plant. There are five Chernobyl-type plants on the territory of the former Soviet Union, including one in Lithuania.

Remeikis said earlier reports claiming that the confiscated uranium is highly radioactive were strongly exaggerated. Measurements showed that the level of X-ray exposure near the surface of the uranium is 420 microroentgens, but does not exceed the natural radiation background of 20 microroentgens one meter away from the substance.

The 8 kg of uranium were seized in mid-December after undercover agents arranged a fake deal with two residents of Kaunas, who offered to sell the material. One more suspect was later arrested in the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius.

The seizure was followed by numerous searches in other parts of Lithuania. Police officials suppose that about 100 kg of the substance may still be in the hands of illegal uranium dealers.

Investigators maintain, however, that plans to expose a "nuclear mafia" failed after a National Security Department official revealed information about the seizure in Kaunas.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, military, economic, environmental, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available sources. It should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed. Except for excluding certain diacritics, FBIS renders personal names and place-names in accordance with the romanization systems approved for U.S. Government publications by the U.S. Board of Geographic Names.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source. Passages in boldface or italics are as published.

SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in eight volumes: China, East Europe, Central Eurasia, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications, which include approximately 50 regional, worldwide, and topical reports, generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically.

Current DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semimonthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcover or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (202) 338-6735,or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013. Department of Defense consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301. (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771.)

Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.